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5 December 1985

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No 12, August 1985

Translations from the Russian-language theoretical organ of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).

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M. S. GORBACHEV'S REPLY TO THE MESSAGE FROM THE JAPANESE COUNCIL OF ORGANIZATIONS OF VICTIMS OF ATOMIC BOMBINGS

LD051003 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 85 (signed to press 14 Aug 85)
pp 3-4

[Text] Dear Madam Ito:¹

I was deeply moved by your letter.

I deeply sympathize with the grief and terrible sufferings that fell to the lot of the victims of the barbarous American atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

I fully share your ardent desire to prevent the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki from ever being repeated anywhere in the world so that there would be no new victims of nuclear arms on our planet.

The Soviet Union has persistently pressed for the liquidation of nuclear arms from the moment they appeared. As early as 1946 my country proposed to conclude an international convention on the prohibition of atomic weapons but the implementation of this proposal was blocked by the United States. Today too we encounter on the part of the West an absence of readiness to achieve a complete prohibition and liquidation of nuclear arms, thus confronting us with the need to search for possible intermediate solutions of this paramount task.

The USSR is actively campaigning for the elimination of nuclear weapons at present as well. We are prepared to start nuclear disarmament at any time in case of an agreement with other nuclear powers. ~~The USSR is holding talks with the United States in Geneva so as not to launch an arms race in outer space, terminate it on earth and start drastic cuts in nuclear armaments down to their total elimination.~~ The posture of the American side at these talks, however, blocks the reaching of an accord.

The Soviet Union will not start nuclear war. It assumed the pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. If all the nuclear powers took the same step, favorable conditions would be created for concluding an international treaty banning the use of nuclear weapons.

Our new peace initiative--the decision to stop unilaterally any nuclear explosions starting from August 6 this year, the day of the Hiroshima tragedy--is directed at ending the dangerous competition in building up nuclear arsenals. Our moratorium will hold until January 1, 1986, but will remain in effect as long as the United States, on its part, refrains from conducting nuclear blasts.

The resolute approval and broad support with which this initiative was met by world public opinion confirm that it meets the aspirations and hopes of all the peoples. Now it is the turn of the United States, as well as other countries possessing nuclear weapons, to put an end to their nuclear explosions too. This would be not only a tribute to the memory of victims of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, but also a real contribution to the consolidation of strategic stability and peace on earth. In this way favorable conditions would be created for concluding an international treaty on complete and universal banning of nuclear weapons tests.

Our country understands the striving of many countries to create nuclear-free zones in various parts of the globe. We support the creation of such zones, for example, in northern Europe, in the Balkan peninsula, in Southeast Asia and in Africa. The efforts of South Pacific states aimed at creating a nuclear-free zone in that region deserve approval.

On the eve of the 40th anniversary of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, it is particularly urgent that nobody should contravene Japan's non-nuclear status enshrined in the "Three Non-Nuclear Principles" which, as we understand, are an expression of the will of the mass of the Japanese people. The Soviet Union honors these principles. It is important that others should also do so--not by word, but by deed.

Yet we cannot disregard the growing attempts at turning Japan into a U.S. nuclear base, at increasing its military role both in the system of the alliance with the United States, and in the present-day world in general. Such attempts are fraught with an aggravation of tensions in the Far East and in the Asian-Pacific region. Apparently, not all people have yet drawn the proper conclusions from the lessons of the Second World War, from the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The Soviet people, who lost 20 million lives during the Second World War, is fully resolved to prevent a nuclear catastrophe. The tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is broadly known in our country. The Soviet people express their solidarity with the antiwar, antinuclear movement in Japan and in other countries, that favor complete and ultimate elimination of the nuclear threat all over the world. This movement will be the stronger, the broader the composition of its participants and the more rallied its ranks.

I wish the Japanese Council of Organizations of Victims of Atomic Bombings and all of its members success in the struggle for preventing nuclear war and for prohibiting and scrapping nuclear weapons.

Yours respectfully, M. Gorbachev

FOOTNOTE

1. Sakae Ito is the cochairman of the Japanese Council of Organizations of Victims of Atomic Bombings.

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M. S. GORBACHEV'S REPLIES TO QUESTIONS FROM A TASS CORRESPONDENT

LD131710 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 85 (signed to press 14 Aug 85)
pp 5-7

[Text] Question: How would you evaluate world reaction to the new Soviet initiative--the introduction of a moratorium on nuclear explosions?

Answer: If one is to speak of the sentiments of the public at large, it appears that there is every ground to say that the new initiative of the Soviet Union, which has unilaterally discontinued any nuclear explosions and urged the United States to follow suit, has been received with approval in the world. In many countries, including the United States, prominent statesmen and political and public figures declare in support of the idea of a moratorium on nuclear weapon tests and urge also other nuclear powers to follow the USSR's example. Our proposal concerns a concrete, tangible measure. People see in it a hope for slowing down and then discontinuing the nuclear arms race.

I know that our initiative is not to the liking of everyone. Those in the West who have linked their policy with a further intensification of the arms race and who derive considerable profits from that do not want an end to nuclear tests. They oppose the moratorium because they do not want the nuclear arms assembly lines to come to a standstill. They cling to unattainable illusions of gaining military superiority one way or another. At the same time they are busy spreading yarns about the Soviet Union's policy, including in connection with our announced moratorium on nuclear explosions.

This was an honest and open move on our part. We introduced the moratorium being deeply convinced that it is essential to take practical measures with a view to stopping the buildup of nuclear arms and their further sophistication. We had no intention at all of placing the U.S. leadership in a difficult position. The President of the United States was notified in advance of our action by a letter in which we suggested that the American side act in an analogous way. One would like the U.S. leadership to respond positively to this call of ours. Public pronouncements by officials in Washington on the moratorium issue create the impression that those in Washington, unfortunately, are now preoccupied mostly with finding the most adroit ways of evading such a response. I will not make a mistake if I say that a different attitude is being awaited in the world.

Question: President Reagan recently said that the United States could not afford a moratorium on nuclear tests because it should complete its nuclear programs. In so doing he asserted that the Soviet Union had completed an intensive series of nuclear explosions and could permit itself a respite. Is that so?

Answer: The decision on the unilateral discontinuation of nuclear explosions was made by the Soviet leadership after a thorough and comprehensive study. It was not an easy matter at all to take such a step. In order to introduce the unilateral moratorium we had to interrupt the testing program, leaving it unfinished.

In the course of the current year before the moratorium was announced, practically the same number of nuclear explosions were carried out in the USSR as in the United States. If one is to speak of all nuclear tests which have been held until now, their number has been much greater in the United States than in the USSR. And those in the White House know it.

But when taking the decision on the unilateral moratorium, the Soviet Union was guided not by arithmetic but by principled political considerations, by the striving to help end the nuclear arms race and to induce the United States as well as other countries possessing nuclear weapons to make such a step. Our goal is the complete and general cessation of nuclear weapon testing, and not some respite between explosions.

An opinion is being expressed that the introduction of a moratorium on nuclear explosions does not meet the interests of the United States. But a moratorium is an important step on the way to an end to the further sophistication of lethal nuclear weapons. Besides, the longer the period without tests, the more rapid will be the processing of "aging" of the stockpiled weapons. Finally, a moratorium creates more favorable conditions for reaching agreement on the termination of nuclear tests and for making headway towards the elimination of nuclear weapons altogether.

The question arises: What in this matter does not meet the interests of the United States, of the American people? This road does not suit only those who count on power pressure and who devise plans to create ever new types of nuclear weapons on earth and who have set themselves the aim of starting an arms race in outer space. But what does this have to do with the genuine interests of strengthening peace and international security, the striving for which has been repeatedly stated by Washington?

Attempts are being made to explain this unwillingness to end nuclear tests by a "lag" of the United States in the field of nuclear arms. But this is only a pretext. There used to be talk about a "lag" in bombers and later on--in missiles. However, every time it was a deliberate deception which was admitted afterwards by the people in Washington themselves. In other words, talk about a "lag" begins whenever there is striving to achieve military superiority and when there is no real desire to solve arms limitation issues. It is precisely on these matters that decisions should be taken by the political leadership, and not on the basis of myths being created about the

"Soviet threat," but proceeding from the real situation and the genuine security interests of one's country and the interests of international security.

Question: How do you visualize the problem of verification in the context of the proposal to end nuclear explosions?

Answer: The scientific and technical possibilities existing in this country, in the United States and in other countries provide the necessary degree of confidence that a nuclear explosion, even of a small yield, will be detected and will become known. Those who say to the contrary know that that is not so.

Unilateral steps to end nuclear explosions cannot, of course, solve to the end the problem of a complete and general cessation of nuclear weapon testing. An international agreement is essential for the problem to be solved once and for all. Apart from appropriate obligations, it would also contain an appropriate system of verification measures--both national and international ones. In short, we are for a verification of the ending of nuclear explosions but we are against the cessation of tests being substituted by their continuation in the presence of observers.

Let me remind you that the problem of the complete and general ending of nuclear weapon testing is by no means a new one. Several years ago it was considered in detail during the tripartite talks between the USSR, the United States and Britain. Questions of verification were also discussed there in the most detailed way. In many respects the sides were close to mutual understanding. But the United States broke off the talks because the limitation which were being worked out hindered the Pentagon's plans.

We repeatedly suggested to the United States that the talks be resumed. And today as well we are calling on it to resume them and achieve the complete cessation of nuclear weapon testing. The holding of such talks and the achievement of results at them would be much easier in conditions when the USSR and the United States would not be conducting nuclear tests. However, the United States does not want to return to the negotiating table. And this means that it is precisely the United States that does not want either an end to nuclear tests, or a reliable system of verification. No other conclusion can be drawn.

It is sometimes said that the question of ending nuclear weapon testing should be considered at the Geneva Conference on Disarmament. Well, we are prepared to discuss it there as well. But in Geneva, the United States and other Western countries have been sabotaging the conduct of such talks for a long time already. Therefore, the point is not where to consider the cessation of nuclear weapon testing. What is important is to consider the problem seriously and without delay, with a view, among other things, to the forthcoming Soviet-American meeting.

Question: Is it possible nonetheless, in your view, to expect a positive solution to the question of nuclear tests?

Answer: Yes. I think it is. Although the present attitude of the United States to our proposal does not inspire optimism, one would not like to lose hope. Here is why: the responsibility resting with the Soviet Union and the United States is too great for them to evade a solution to major security matters.

What we suggest is a real possibility of stopping a further buildup of nuclear arsenals and tackling in earnest the solution of the task of their reduction and ultimately their elimination.

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PREPARING FOR THE PARTY CONGRESS

AU070601 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 85 (signed to press 14 Aug 85)
pp 8-22

[Article by Ye. Ligachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee: "Preparing for the Party Congress." Article based on report submitted at conference of second secretaries and heads of departments of organizational-party work of the central committees of the communist parties of the union republics, kraykoms and obkoms held in the CPSU Central Committee on 26 July 1985. Capitalized words published in italics in the original]

[Text] Our party is preparing for its next, 27th Congress, which is by no means an internal party matter. The CPSU--and this fact is reflected in the USSR Constitution--is the leading and guiding force of Soviet society and comprises the core of its political system and state and social organizations. That is why, with every passing day, preparation for the party congress to an ever greater extent determines the life and activity of party organizations, all labor collectives, and all Soviet people.

Having adopted a decision to convene the congress, the April 1985 Central Committee Plenum gave precise directions as to what we must concentrate on in the process of preparing for the congress. A strategy for accelerating the socioeconomic development of our society on the basis of scientific-technological progress has been outlined--both at the plenum and in subsequent speeches by Comrade M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee--and theses of fundamental importance on a broad range of current and long-term problems have been put forward.

Of course, neither long-term nor current affairs can manage themselves. Unity of strategic, tactical tasks and current organizational work is a characteristic feature of the Leninist party. "Without a program, a party cannot possibly be an integral political organism capable of always maintaining its course notwithstanding any turn in events," wrote V. I. Lenin. "Without a tactical line which is based on evaluation of the current political situation and gives precise answers to the 'accursed problems' of the contemporary period, a circle of theoreticians is possible, but not an active political quantity" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch" [Complete Collected Works], Vol 20, p 357).

Implementation of the policy worked out by the April Central Committee Plenum, which is aimed at accelerating our forward progress, will allow us to make the economy even stronger, the people's well-being even more secure, and the country's defense more reliable. It will require a thorough grasp, primarily by all communists, of the party's strategy and tactics in contemporary conditions; a decisive psychological reorientation; and the ability to work and think in a new way. A great deal of daily organizational work lies ahead.

The accountability report and election campaign in the party will be a most important stage in pregress preparations. On an organizational plane, its originality lies in the fact that it embraces all units from party groups to oblast, kray and republic party organizations. Discussion of the new draft edition of the CPSU program and of changes in the party statute will give conferences and congresses a powerful ideological impulse. The accountability report sessions and elections will be on the border between two five-year plan periods and in this lies their important distinguishing feature. New experience must be generalized and a plan worked out for the country's socioeconomic development for the 12th Five-Year Plan and for the long term. And, of course, the special tone of the present accountability and election campaign is determined by the fact that it will take place when the forms and methods of party leadership of the economy and of all economic and party-political work will be undergoing reorganization in accordance with the political directives of the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Not much time has passed since the plenum, but its ideas are becoming more and more visibly embodied in concrete tasks and perceptible changes in many spheres of our life. This is primarily reflected in the fact that the party does not evade mature problems, but is determinedly coming to grips with the most difficult and urgent tasks of developing production forces and perfecting production relations. A special place in this connection belongs to the conference held in the CPSU Central Committee on the problems of accelerating scientific-technological progress. In addition to thoroughly analyzing fundamental problems and difficulties encountered by society in the economic sphere, the conference also indicated realistic ways and means of increasing the growth rates of social production and perfecting planning and management of the national economy. In other words, an answer was given not only to the question of WHAT must be done, but also to the question of HOW one must do it.

Within the channel of this constructive approach lie the decisions adopted by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo on making the new methods of economic operations widespread; increasing their influence on the acceleration of scientific-technological progress; and technically reequipping enterprises in the petroleum and gas industry, machine construction, and the processing branches of the agroindustrial complex. A broad spectrum of social problems has also been examined. The urgent problems of introducing work norms in the national economy and remunerating the work of designers, technologists, and scientific and medical workers are being practically resolved. Opportunities for labor collectives to improve their living and social conditions are becoming more dependent on the production results they achieve. Measures have been determined concerning the socioeconomic development of a number of regions and towns in the country and the improvement of the material position

of pensioners and for those who participated in the war, and also the improvement of housing conditions for young people. Through the will of the people an uncompromising struggle is being waged against drunkenness and alcoholism.

At the April Central Committee Plenum the party put forward and is now consistently implementing the principled thesis that no organization and no worker must remain beyond party control. In accordance with this, demand is increasing for the fulfillment of party and government directives both in the center and in the field. In the last few months alone, the CPSU Central Committee has discussed the accountability reports of the Orenburg, Gorkiy, and Smolensk CPSU obkoms and the Kharkov party gorkom, as well as reports from ministers on topical problems of economic and cultural construction.

Serious measures are being implemented to improve the selection and placement of leading cadres. The cadre decisions of recent CPSU Central Committee Plenums and the process of strengthening the leadership of a number of ministries and party obkoms are directly connected with practical steps to realize the political directives of the April Central Committee Plenum.

The Soviet people give inspiring support to the course adopted by the party; which is aimed at speeding up economic and social development, increasing the responsibility of every individual for the task at hand, and updating important aspects of our life. Positive processes are taking place in the social consciousness and outlook of the Soviet people and the unity between the party and the people is growing stronger. This is aided to a decisive extent by the unity of party word and deed. The people support CPSU domestic and foreign policy by deeds; highly productive work and an improvement in work in many sectors of the national economy. The growth rate of industrial production doubled in the second quarter in comparison to the first.

But, although it is said that a good beginning is half the job, the main tasks will lie ahead. Our people will judge the militancy of all party units and the competence of those who have been entrusted with the leadership of party organizations and economic and cultural construction at this point in our social development--which, in a certain sense, is a turning point--by the rate of our forward progress and by real results.

In the remaining months before the beginning of the 27th CPSU Congress the party must:

Ensure the successful completion of the 11th Five-Year Plan;

Hold an accountability report and election campaign in the party organizations at a high organizational and political level;

Thoroughly analyze the path trodden since the 26th CPSU Congress and determine the tasks for the long term.

To the question of how best to prepare for an accountability report and election meeting or conference and how to prepare worthily for the 27th CPSU Congress, there can be one answer and one alone: unconditionally fulfilling

state plans, resolving social tasks set, and creating in every labor collective an atmosphere of great discipline and order and determination to reach new frontiers. For all of its importance, the organizational aspect of accountability reports and elections can in no way serve as a substitute for this. And, what is more, no logomachies can take its place.

Having examined the results of development of the national economy in the first half of 1985, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo has determined the task of party, soviet, and economic organs for the completion of the annual plan and the five-year plan as a whole. While noting further growth in the economy and in the well-being of the population and the fact that lagging permitted in the winter period is gradually being overcome, the Central Committee Politburo has stressed that not all branches of the national economy have achieved the planned growth rates. The output of industrial production has increased by 3.5 percent in 7 months as against the plan for a 3.9 percent increase in a year.

Of course, we do not overlook the fact that, in contrast to the past, today it is a question of sound plan figures, without the infamous amendments which undermined scientific planning. It is a well-known fact how irreconcilable Lenin was with regard to leaders cadging privileges and indulgences for themselves in their work. Instructive, for example, is the story of the reprimand given one of the leading workers in Gosplan who, as Lenin wrote, "should not have...requested either that I satisfy the demands of Gidrotorf above the estimate or that I permit it to curtail its activities,"--such a 'request' made of me shows a lack of understanding of the ABC of state relations,--he should have THOUGHT how to FULFILL THE RESOLUTION OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS (and not my resolution)...." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 54, p 185). Society needs totally concrete consumer goods in a set number and variety and of a definite quality, and not explanations as to why something has not been done (at which some economic workers have become fairly expert in recent years). And, as allowances will not be made for anyone any more, we will have to take a firmer grip on all the levers of economic management and increase turnover. In every workplace, in every production unit, and at every enterprise we must determine the rate of progress necessary in the time left in order to ensure the fulfillment of the annual plan and we must strictly follow this guideline.

Fulfilling both the annual and five-year plans without amending them is a serious test for leading cadres and party organizations. This will be a good test of their ability to organize and lead people, make use of the initiative and creativity of the masses, sensibly manage resources, and bring reserves into operation. It is precisely this that the forthcoming accountability report sessions and elections are expected to assist in every possible way, particularly in primary party organizations--the labor collectives--in whose "zone of activity" the fate of all plan tasks is ultimately decided.

Practice attests to the fact that tangible economic results can be achieved comparatively quickly if organizational, economic, and social reserves are brought into play. And, in this respect, it is particularly important to activate the human factor and ensure that every individual works conscientiously and to his full capacity. Unfortunately, some party

committees and economic leaders lack the ability at times to organize this kind of coordinated work. Suffice it to say that in 1984 products worth several billion rubles were lost due to losses of work time in industry and construction. Hundreds of thousands of workers are distracted from their main activities; they sit for ages in meetings and seminars, engage in amateur artistic activities, participate in sports competitions, take time off for duty in the voluntary people's militia, and so forth. This squandering of work time is a burden on the economy. A decisive end must be put to this.

As is well known, in 1983 a resolution was adopted by the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the AUCCTU on increasing work to strengthen socialist labor discipline. A resolution was also adopted by the USSR Council of Ministers on bringing order to the work regime of enterprises and institutions engaged in servicing the population. During the accountability report and election campaign is the very time to strictly call to account those who bear direct responsibility for fulfilling these directive requirements.

Finally, the issue of observing technological discipline should be particularly sharply raised, because vast reserves of economic growth lie in strengthening this form of discipline. Significant results will be achieved in improving the quality of production and reducing outlays on production by means of more strictly observing already existing technological processes.

In a word, it is a question of waging an energetic, purposeful offensive in all areas against indifference and passivity, laxity, irresponsibility, and wastefulness; comprehensively establishing the authority of honest, conscientious work, and persistently introducing intensive methods of economic operations. The party organizations must strive to ensure that the fulfillment of the aforementioned tasks becomes a most important cause for every economic leader, worker, and engineer and the general concern of every labor collective.

Of all the urgent tasks in the country's vast construction base, the commissioning of basic funds and housing construction now require the closest attention. For example, only one-third of the total area of housing envisaged by the annual plan was commissioned in the first half of the year. And in Novgorod, Arkhangelsk, Astrakhan, and Chita Oblast the figure was even lower, approximately 25 percent. In order to fulfill the annual program for housing construction—and this must be done at all costs—we will have to work with greater intensity in the second half of the year. It is essential to stress these issues to the maximum at accountability report and election party meetings in all organizations which are concerned with housing construction.

Transport work, and primarily railroad work, must be constantly within the field of vision of communists and party committees at all levels. Let it be said: The situation in this area at the beginning of the year was not good, but it is gradually being rectified. This trend must be developed and consolidated by persistently raising the standard of the organizational and educational activities of transport party organization.

In contemporary conditions, the economical use of fuel and raw and other materials acquires particular significance. Economy of resources is now being included in the state plan for production collectives. The situation is worsened by the fact that in the first half of the year raw material branches, and primarily petroleum, timber, and metallurgy, failed to supply the national economy with a certain quantity of oil, timber, and rolled metal. The Tyumen oil workers, timber workers in Vologda Oblast, and metallurgists in Donetsk and Dnepropetrovsk are still heavily in debt.

Every economic leader and party worker must grasp the fact that only through a strict economy regime and the use of resource-saving technologies is it possible to ensure the realization of set production plans, having drawn the corresponding practical conclusions from this. These problems must also be kept in view by participants in accountability report and election meetings, conferences, and congresses.

Responsible tasks face rural workers. While persistently striving to fulfill the food program, attention must be concentrated mainly on further increasing the production and purchases of agricultural and livestock products. Not only the plans for this year have to be fulfilled--delivery shortfalls in the first years of the current five-year plan also have to be made up to a considerable extent.

The Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Moldavia, Altay Kray, and Omsk, Volgograd, and Saratov oblasts are in great debt to the state in terms of grain purchases; and the same is true of Vinnitsa, Kirov, Khmel'nitskiy, and Uralsk oblasts with livestock and poultry; and Perm, Zaporozhye, Surkhanyaya and some other oblasts with milk.

We cannot allow any weakening of attention to livestock breeding. Many party organizations have recently studied this branch in great detail. In 1984, despite fodder difficulties, purchases of livestock, poultry, and milk increased by 4 percent and this year sales of livestock and poultry to the state increased by 4 percent and sales of milk by 1 percent. At the same time, the half-year plan for purchases of these basic livestock products was not fulfilled by the Uzbek SSR and Kalinin and Kemerovo oblasts; and the plan for milk purchases was not fulfilled by West and East Siberia and the Far East.

An increase in the production of livestock products can only be ensured if there is sufficient fodder. And, if one is to speak of the main link which must now be grasped in this matter by the party organizations of economic units, it is to ensure that specialists and mechanization experts master fodder production technology which will make it possible even in unfavorable climatic conditions to have access to valuable fodder.

Unfortunately, many of the progressive methods of producing and preparing fodder which have been under discussion for a long time have still not been put into widespread practices. Party organizations must energetically set about spreading the experience of the Belgorod Oblast party organization, which has been approved by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, to reduce the amount of grain used for fodder purposes. One must constantly bear in mind

that supplying public livestock with fodder is not only an economic task, but also a task of great political significance. And this task must be treated accordingly, that is, without permitting compacency and parasitical attitudes.

Next year's harvest must now be a subject of urgent concern. These concerns are connected to a considerable extent with the introduction of intensive technological processes of crop cultivation. Intensive technological processes are becoming the main means of increasing the stability of harvests and the production of high-quality grain. The CPSU Central Committee supports proposals to cultivate grain crops over an area of more than 30 million hectares using intensive technology for next year's harvest. But, of course, thorough preparations will have to be made for this.

Thus, difficult economic tasks have to be resolved by the end of the year. The maximum possible self-discipline and the fullest possible effort in work are necessary in order to resolve these tasks; successfully complete the year and the current five-year plan as a whole; and lay a reliable foundation for a confident start in the forthcoming five-year plan. Socialist competition must be oriented in this direction and given a truly combative spirit and effective nature.

All of our political and organizational work among the masses should be subordinated to this end.

The progress of the forthcoming accountability report sessions and elections in the party will have exceptionally great significance for successfully preparing for the congress and for achieving the aims facing the country at the present stage of its development as soon as possible.

The April CPSU Central Committee Plenum set the task of conducting the accountability reports and elections in such a way that they help develop as much as possible the creative activeness and responsibility of communists, to increase the combat efficiency of party organizations, to strengthen relations with the masses, and, ultimately, to enhance the leading role of the party. Consequently, when preparing the accountability reports and elections and also during them, the work done in the accountability period and the state of affairs in every organization--beginning with party groups and workshop and primary party organizations--must be carefully and comprehensively analyzed, accumulated experience must be critically interpreted, and concrete ways and means of improving economic, organization and educational activities must be determined.

It is important--and one must be strictly guided by this--that meetings, conferences and congresses must be conducted in a truly businesslike way, without ostentation or complacency and in an atmosphere of frank exchange of opinions, party principle and exactingness.

Without any doubt, the main place at the meetings, conferences, and congresses will be occupied by problems of socialist economic operations and raising the standard of party leadership of the economy. The interests of the cause demand that the problems of scientific-technological progress and production

quality be at the center of the pregress accountability report and election campaign.

Meetings of the party and economic aktiv were held in the republics, krays and oblasts in June and July. They discussed the concrete tasks emanating from the directives given at the conference in the CPSU Central Committee on scientific-technological progress. The forthcoming accountability report session and elections must be used extensively to carry the discussion of these tasks to primary party organization and labor collectives, that is, to where new equipment and technology is developed, introduced, and mastered. The general state problem of accelerating scientific-technological progress in the national economy has totally concrete interpretations for every production subdivision, right down to the individual work place. There are reserves everywhere for making more effective use of already existing production means and for making better use of available resources. But we cannot be satisfied with this alone. Production needs to be made more efficient and technology has to be updated in order to ensure truly revolutionary improvements in labor productivity and a reduction in fund- and material-intensive production operations. Precisely the party organizations must orient themselves toward this approach.

Particular concern must be taken to ensure that truly businesslike, pertinent, self-critical discussion of this topic takes place at accountability report and election party meetings in ministries and departments, at scientific research institutes, in planning and design organizations, and in higher education establishments. It is important to orient these collectives toward seeking solutions which, without repeating stages passed through earlier in other countries, would make it possible to ensure a technological breakthrough in entire branches of the national economy. Party organizations are expected to comprehensively increase the responsibility of these collectives for creative, productive work.

While discussing the problems of party leadership of the economy at the congresses and conferences, it is essential to look carefully into the state of affairs in capital construction and think deeply on what must be done to increase the effectiveness of capital investments and to implement an investment policy which would be in the maximum interests of intensifying the national economy.

The conference in the CPSU Central Committee on scientific-technological progress sharply criticized the Krasnoyarsk party kraykom for dissipation of means and resources in construction and for the low effectiveness of capital investments channeled into the development of the kray's production forces. Obviously, many ministries and party committees must draw practical conclusions from the criticism made at the conference.

First and foremost, it is necessary to ensure a decisive move in the direction of reorganizing the investments structure by increasing the proportion of outlays on technically reequipping and reconstructing existing enterprises, workshops, and production sectors. This approach has demonstrated its great effectiveness. The secret here, incidentally, is very simple. With this kind of approach advanced equipment is handed over to those collectives with the

corresponding experience and to skilled worker cadres. This also ensures rapid feedback, especially if the reconstruction and technical reequipping of production is carried out comprehensively and in a short period of time. And this must be discussed thoroughly and in detail at accountability report and election meetings and conferences, and also when discussing the draft Main Aspects of the Economic and Social Development of the Country for the 12th Five-Year Plan and up to the year 2000.

Perfecting the economic mechanism and the organizational structure of management must fully serve to resolve the problems of intensifying the economy and speeding up scientific-technological progress. Of course, the main part of work to restructure management will be done in a centralized way. Measures aimed at this are now being developed. But it would be wrong to sit with arms folded, waiting for these measures to be adopted. A great deal can be done in the field even now. There are a considerable number of superfluous units in republic, kray and oblast administrative organs and in enterprises and associations which could be amalgamated or abolished with no ill effects.

A number of problems connected with perfecting management have been resolved in the country at initiative from below. Let us recall the formation of production and scientific-production associations in industry and agroindustrial associations in agriculture, and the introduction of a new system of work remuneration and incentives for designers and technologists. It will be extremely useful to raise issues of this kind at accountability report and election meetings, conferences and congresses and to jointly think of what else can be done in this area, while proceeding from experience that has been accumulated, and what kind of changes in management organization will yield concrete results.

At the same time, it would be worthwhile to generalize the practice of the work of enterprises and associations under the conditions of the economic experiment and to closely study what this experiment has given us; what still restrains the initiative of labor collectives and weakens their responsibility and what should be done to consolidate and make more widespread progressive forms and methods of economic operations. It is particularly important to do this now, because a qualitatively new stage is beginning in the development of the experiment. Basically, the transition is being made to forming an integral system of economic operations. In accordance with the resolution adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Spreading New Methods of Economic Operations and Increasing Their Influence on the Acceleration of Scientific-Technological Progress," enterprises and associations which will produce more than half of the industrial products manufactured in the country as a whole will be transferred to the new work conditions from 1 January 1986.

The collective of the association has decided to increase production output by 150 million rubles as compared with the projected figures of the five-year plan while reducing the number of workers; to reduce the automobiles' metal-intensiveness and the specific expenditure of fuel; and to shorten by 3 years the period of time spent in preparing the production of basic machine models. The principled nature of the Avtovaz workers initiative lies in the fact that the collective has requested that its obligations be included in the state

plan. The Central Committee Politburo has approved the initiative of the automobile plant workers. Party organizations are expected to engage in making this patriotic undertaking widespread; to control everywhere the development of intensive plans for social and economic development for 1986 and the 12th Five-Year Plan as a whole; and to ensure interested discussion of these issues by communists at accountability report and election meetings, conferences and congresses.

The tasks facing us at the contemporary stage require a further rise in the standard of all organizational party and ideological work. And, the forthcoming accountability report and election campaign must actively assist this. It is well-known that the combat efficiency of party organizations and the strength of their influence on the masses depend primarily on the activeness of communists and on the way in which they fulfill their vanguard role. Consequently, during the accountability report sessions and elections it will be necessary to carefully analyze the work of party organizations and committees to improve the qualitative makeup of party ranks and to strengthen these ranks; to increase party influence on all sectors, particularly in the brigades; to educate communists; and to increase their responsibility for the implementation of party policy and for strict observance of party directives.

The April CPSU Central Committee Plenum has required heightened demands to be made on every party member regarding his attitude to a social duty, his fulfillment of party decisions, and his pure and honest image as a party member. It must be borne in mind that the struggle for organization and discipline in society will be successful only when order is ensured in every party unit. That is why it will be necessary during the accountability report sessions and elections, in primary party organizations in particular, to conduct a principled, exacting discussion on whether every communist observes statutory requirements and whether he sets an example in his work, every day, and social life. In this connection, it will be useful to examine how fully and effectively different means and forms are used for educating communists, increasing their activeness and strengthening party discipline.

The practice of discussing communists' accountability reports at meetings has recently become widespread in the Georgian Republic, Krasnodar Kray, and Leningrad and Ulyanovsk Oblast party organizations, as well as in a number of other party organizations. These accountability reports are one of the most effective means of enhancing the vanguard role of party members in a collective. Experience attests to the fact that accountability reports submitted by communists to their comrades help considerably to develop communist activeness, discipline people and stimulate them, and ultimately, have a positive effect on the life and activity of party organizations. Having examined a report by the CPSU Central Committee organizational party work department on this issue, the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat approved the practice of holding communist accountability report sessions and recognized the expediency of making such a practice widespread.

Speaking in October 1921 before political education workers, Lenin said that a communist has three main enemies: "The first enemy is communist conceit, the second is illiteracy, and the third is bribes." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.", Vol 44, p 173). A great deal of time has passed since then. The second enemy--

illiteracy, in the conditions of which a man stands outside of politics altogether, has long been put an end to. A great deal has also been done to triumph over conceit and bureaucracy.

However, it is no secret that in recent years we have once again begun to encounter such an evil enemy as bribe-taking. No compromises of half measures can be permitted in the struggle against that evil.

The struggle against another social evil must be waged equally uncompromisingly. It is essential that accountability report and election meetings devote the most serious attention to the practical implementation of the measures developed by the party and the government to overcome drunkenness and alcoholism, and that the role of communists in this work and the significance of their personal example be once again strongly emphasized. This is all the more important in view of the fact that some communists, Komsomol members, and leading workers are susceptible to the vice. Even since the resolution was adopted by the CPSU Central Committee on the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism some comrades have not deemed it necessary to give up this pernicious habit.

Everyone must understand that the struggle against drunkenness is not a short-lived campaign. Adopting a "dry law" on a country-wide scale, as some comrades suggest in their letters to the CPSU Central Committee, will obviously not solve the problem, but every family and every collective can and must struggle for a sober lifestyle. Of course, this is no simple matter, because we are talking about overcoming inveterate habits and customs. Such work will require unrelenting and protracted effort by all party organizations.

While taking every measure to ensure that the accountability report and election campaign contributes to the maximum to developing communists' creative initiative, further deepening internal party democracy, and ensuring the observance of the Leninist norms of party life, particular attention should be devoted to developing criticism and self-criticism--this tested method of resolving difficulties and contradictions that may arise, perfecting work style and strengthening the collective principle in leadership at every level.

It is impossible not to see that, under cover of the correct party demand that respect be shown cadres, in some places permissible attitudes have begun to appear and exactingness regarding workers' practical and moral-political qualities has decreased. As a result, complacency has become widespread among some of our leading cadres and in some labor collectives, and the sense of irreconcilability toward shortcomings and the desire to make more rapid progress and achieve more have become dulled. At times, criticism is regarded as an attempt to undermine the authority of a leader or to cast a shadow on a collective, which does considerable damage. Without critical analysis of what has been done it is not only impossible to repair an omission, but one also cannot determine correct guidelines for the future.

In some party organizations the role of criticism and self-criticism has clearly been depreciated. It is frequently expressed in bland form, mainly as

a wish or a request. In many cases, criticism comes chiefly from above and is extremely weakly developed from below. For example, in the last 2 years there has been basically no serious observation addressed to the bureaus or secretaries at plenary meetings of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghizia, the Khabarovsk Kraykom, and the Alma-Ata Obkom. Frequently the passivity of communists is explained precisely by the fact that their critical remarks are either totally ignored or are disposed of by means of dutiful phrases about acknowledging criticism and promises to rectify shortcomings. All this runs counter to the traditions of our party, and we must put a decisive end to practices of this kind.

In a situation of tolerance and lack of principle, at times boot licking, servility and conceit flourish like wild thistles and party principles of cadre selection and state interests are consigned to oblivion. Precisely this was discussed at a plenary meeting of the Chimkent Obkom. A. Askarov, first secretary of the obkom, has been released from his post for major violations of party and state discipline. This example once more confirms how important it is to correct a leader who has stumbled, to do so in good time with the exactingness of a bolshevik--and to thereby prevent his moral decline.

At all meetings and conferences it is necessary to create the kind of atmosphere so that, as the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum indicated, every party member can fully exercise his statutory right to submit proposals and make observations and also, so that no critical remark is bypassed. We will be better able to reveal the opinions of the party masses and all the working people if we give the rostrum on a wide scale to rank-and-file party members and the lower party aktiv.

During the pregress accountability report and election campaign, communists must approach evaluation of the activities of leading electoral organs with a high degree of exactingness, comprehensively analyze the style of their work, and state frankly how well this style corresponds to the spirit of the times and to the requirements of the present.

In this connection, I will cite a letter, a very topical letter in my opinion, which was sent to the CPSU Central Committee by party member V. Kovalev from the village of Peski in Voronezh Oblast. He writes that, as a nonpermanent correspondent of the rayon newspaper, he frequently has to attend accountability report and election party meetings of brigades, sectors, kolkhozes, enterprises and organizations. "And this," he continues, "is what strikes me. After discussion of the accountability report, an appraisal is given of the work of the party committee, the party bureau, or the secretary of the party organization. But, what kind of appraisal? With any work the appraisal is always one and the same--'satisfactory'."

"I remember," writes Comrade Kovalev, "how the secretary of the party bureau of a crop-growing sector of the Peskovskiy Kolkhoz submitted an accountability report. There was nothing to say. Throughout the entire year not one party meeting, not one session of the party bureau had been held. The situation was also bad with economic affairs. But, however paradoxical it may seem, the work of the party bureau was considered satisfactory."

"This is not an isolated case. The poor work of the party bureau or its secretary is frequently covered up by the fact that, as a whole, the collective has worked and achieved something. If, however, indexes in the collective are not so impressive, a no less 'convincing' argument is put forward: an unsatisfactory appraisal, quote, would undermine the prestige of the rayon party organization. And so what is desired is passed off as reality."

The author of the letter is right. We have had more than one opportunity to see the results of this kind of tolerance. For example, during the two previous accountability report and election campaigns, virtually no unsatisfactory appraisal was given of the work of primary organizations in Uzbekistan and Rostov Oblast or the work of any party organization in Moscow trade enterprises and institutions. Surely this did not correspond to the true state of affairs? It is not a question, of course, of the number of percentages of appraisals. The essence lies elsewhere. An objective, exacting appraisal of the real situation in a collective or party organization is necessary in order to act correctly and not to shut oneself off from real problems by creating the appearance of prosperity on paper. This is not the demand of the time.

The accountability report and election campaign provides an opportunity to resolve mature cadre problems--where needed of course. While showing as considerate an attitude as possible toward experienced workers, at the same time we must free ourselves of unenterprising, inert people who avoid real organizational work among the masses. Let us recall how uncompromisingly Lenin stated the issue, when it became necessary to make the transition from the heroics of revolution and civil war to the "prose" of economic construction.

"Whoever finds this work 'boring,' 'uninteresting' and 'incomprehensible,'" he wrote, "is best 'freed from his post' and given up as a bad job so that he cannot do any damage, because either he does not wish to or he is unable to think about the originality of the given phase or stage of the struggle." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 44, pp 108-109). The directives of the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum fully correspond to Leninist requirements and they must be firmly put into practice by most decisively suppressing any attempts to advance workers because of personal loyalty, kinship, or association. One must not forget the lessons which practice has taught us in this area.

The process of forming the electoral party aktiv must be approached with particular responsibility and politically mature, competent, enterprising communists must be nominated for leadership--communists who have a feel for the new, are closely connected with the party masses and the working people, and are able to lead others. In a word, the composition of an electoral organ must best correspond to the tasks facing the party and must be of a very representative nature.

As before, workers, ordinary kolkhoz workers and economic specialists must be elected to the party committees and party bureaus, and concern must be shown to elect representatives of the scientific-technological intelligentsia. During previous accountability report sessions and elections two workers or

kolkhoz workers were elected to each bureau of the majority of party kraykoms, obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms. This has justified itself and it would be useful to implement this practice everywhere.

Recently, in accordance with CPSU Central Committee directives, women have begun to be more actively advanced into leading work. Their number among the secretaries of the Central Committee of the communist parties of the union republics and of party kraykoms and obkoms has more than doubled during the last 2 years. There are also more women now among the secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms and among heads of departments of party committees. At the same time, in Orenburg, Rovno, Kharkov, Bryansk and some other oblast party organizations, for example, this issue has still not been given due attention.

We must consistently strive to ensure that nationalities represented in party organizations are also properly represented in electoral party organs, including among the leaders of these organs. Positive changes in this respect are taking place in the majority of republic party organizations. Nevertheless, this policy should be implemented with greater persistency in Belorussia, Lithuania and Bashkiria.

Obviously, it is important that, after the accountability report and election campaign has been concluded, there be a reliable reserve of cadres in the party organs which will make it possible to avoid the practice of coopting leaders of party committees in the future.

The question of the moral image of leading cadres must be raised once again with great principle and urgency at meetings, conferences and congresses. This is also a big political issue, a question of the firmness of party ties with the masses and of party authority among the people.

During the accountability report and election campaign one must not overlook the question of how the CPSU Central Committee directive on enhancing the role of primary party organizations in the examination of problems of errors by communist leaders is being fulfilled. This question was recently examined by the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat. In the majority of party organizations the situation has radically changed and the personal affairs of communist leaders are examined at communist meetings. However, some party committees have failed to draw the proper conclusions for themselves. In the Kaluga, Mordovo, and Chuvash party organizations these matters are still examined, as a rule, by bypassing the primary organizations. Once again it should be stressed that this practice is greatly detrimental to the task of educating the cadres and is consequently inadmissible.

In a word, close attention must be devoted to our cadres' mastery of the Leninist style of party leadership in all its richness in the period of accountability reports and elections within the party. Perfecting style is not a campaign, but a constant task. Turning the struggle for a Leninist work style into a campaign is a sign of bad style.

The task of party committees does not only lie in steadily perfecting the style of their own activities, but also in helping to improve the work methods

of soviets, trade unions and the Komsomol at every level. Particular attention should be devoted to the problems of activating Komsomol organizations. It is well-known with what principle these issues are raised and what great significance is attached to them by the CPSU Central Committee. And it is very important that the directives given on this score in the Central Committee resolution on party leadership of the Komsomol be consistently and steadily implemented.

The problems of party leadership of the Komsomol and of enhancing the role of the Komsomol in the communist education of young people must occupy a worthy place during preparation for the 27th CPSU Congress and at the forthcoming accountability report and election meetings, conferences and congresses. We must comprehensively assist in further activating the Komsomol in the country's political and socioeconomic life and in increasing young people's contribution to the acceleration of scientific-technological progress and the development of amateur artistic and technological creativity, physical culture and sport, and the efficient organization of young people's free time. Those bureaus of party committees and party organizations which elect young communists working as secretaries of Komsomol organizations to their staff and which prepare them for party work act correctly. This practice, as Leningrad's experience confirms in particular, is totally justified. The Central Committee will continue to make strict demands of party organizations regarding their leadership of the Komsomol and education of young people.

Problems of ideological and political education work will occupy a worthy place at the accountability report and election meetings, conferences, and congresses. The question of how the directives of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the theses put forward by Comrade M. S. Gorbachev at the 1984 all-union scientific-practical conference are being put into practice, must be closely examined. There is no denying that clear changes for the better have recently appeared in ideological work. But, nevertheless, at times it fails to achieve its goals and does not have the proper influence on people.

In general, it would be worthwhile to examine whether we are not too keen on mass measures which are sometimes for show and the feedback from which is sometimes disproportionate to the effort expended. Meanwhile, ideological work does not require a "general," wholesale approach, but a differentiated approach to people and attention to the concrete individual, but, to his interests, and to his material and spiritual needs.

"Ideological-political education," emphasizes M. S. Gorbachev, "in all its forms must be linked with life as far as possible and with the tasks of speeding up the socioeconomic development of our motherland. In this lies the essence of the changes which must be made to ideological work today. But we must move energetically in this direction without losing any time." This can only be done by shifting the center of gravity of ideological work to the labor collectives and primary party organizations. Our success will be all the greater, the more extensively and actively leading cadres and people capable not only of answering the keen questions of the working people in good time and with sound arguments, but also, of practically resolving problems participate in ideological work.

Among ideological problems, those connected with the general educational school reform are particularly topical and socially significant. The CPSU Central Committee Secretariat recently heard a report by the Gorkiy Obkom on progress in implementing the reform. It must be said that a great deal has already been done in the field, particularly to create the conditions for giving students work training and for increasing teachers' qualifications. However, there are also grounds for saying that some party committees have noticeably reduced their activeness in implementing the school reform and do not show enough persistence in fulfilling set plans. A great deal remains the same in schools. Consequently, the problems of restructuring schoolwork with the aim of increasing the responsibility of communists in schools, institutes and basic enterprises for the results of this work should be discussed with interest in every party organization.

Resolving the problems of the country's internal development is most closely connected with CPSU foreign policy. Our party draws the appropriate conclusions from the complex international situation, and the prime response to the threat to peace is maximum mobility of party ranks and real bolshevik concern to speed up the growth of the economy and strengthen the country's defense capabilities.

The accountability report and election campaign naturally gives occasion to examine more closely the concrete state of affairs in a certain branch of production collective regarding the output of products for export and the expansion of their variety. We must be highly exacting in our approach to the use of imports, primarily equipment. In a number of areas there is no proper procedure for the introduction of foreign equipment into use, and the party organizations can in no way reconcile themselves to this.

It is now difficult to find an enterprise or scientific research organization whose representatives do not regularly go abroad either to study or convey to others advanced technical or technological experience. How are scientific-technological cooperation and production cooperation developing with enterprises and institutions in CEMA member countries? Are innovations finding practical application? What is the quickest way to receive greater return on the acquisition of licenses? All these questions cannot be ignored.

An important distinguishing feature of the current accountability report sessions and elections is that the new draft edition of the CPSU program and proposed changes in the CPSU statute and the main aspects of the economic and social development of the country will be discussed at the same time as, and in direct connection with, these reports and elections. Work on these documents is progressing intensively. It is intended to examine these documents at the next Central Committee Plenum and then submit them for discussion by rayon, city, oblast, and kray party conferences and by congresses of the union republic communist parties. There is a great deal of work to be done, the aim of which is to convey the content and political meaning of these documents to every individual and to utilize them for establishing a communist world outlook and for developing the social activeness of the broadest masses of the working people.

The accountability report and election campaign will last several months. It is very important to ensure daily, concrete leadership in this campaign and to organize precise measures for preparing and conducting party meetings, conferences and congresses. The responsibility for this rests with the party committees, all their departments, and, of course, primarily with organizational-party work departments.

They are bound to carefully instruct the aktiv on all matters, draw up a schedule of meetings and conferences in advance, and organize an efficient supply of information on the progress of accountability report sessions and elections in order to eliminate without delay shortcomings which may appear. It is expedient, as practice shows, to examine the first results of the meetings and conferences in party committee bureaus. All this, of course, does not mean that the preparation and holding of accountability and election meetings and conferences should be regulated right down to the smallest issue. The main aspect is the content. The electoral party aktiv must be extensively involved in the entire complex of preparatory work so that the reports of the electoral party organs on the work done during the accountability period are thorough and self-critical and the discussion of these reports active and constructive. Only thus will a report and its discussion and the entire course of a meeting, conference or congress be an example of collective interpretation of practice and of the problems set by life.

Special attention must be devoted to holding accountability report sessions and elections in the lower units. Secretaries and members of bureaus of communist party central committees and of kraykoms, obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, and the leaders of ministries and departments must participate in the meetings and conferences of primary party organizations. In this respect, of course, it is not simply a question of attendance. Communists must be helped to pick out the chief, topical issues and to correctly determine their program of future work.

While utilizing the experience of past years, we must organize extensive elucidation of the course of accountability report sessions and elections within the party in our press and on radio and television. In this respect, it is important that publications should be objective and impassioned in the bolshevik manner, should not avoid sharp corners, as they say, and should not keep silent about critical remarks addressed to specific workers. Of course, it will not only be necessary to take most careful account of all observations made during the meetings, conferences and congresses, but also to energetically adopt practical measures to realize these observations and proposals. Wide publicity will further strengthen the people's trust in the party.

The accountability report and election campaign must serve as a review of party forces and contribute to the maximum to mobilizing all party organizations, all communists and all working people to fulfill the new tasks of communist construction which will be set by the next, 27th, CPSU Congress. Broad public interest has always been shown in the accountability report sessions and elections in the party. Now, particular attention will be riveted on them. The accountability report and election campaign and all pregress work must be conducted in such a way that people will see for

themselves that the party and party organizations are aware of urgent problems, do not avoid them and are confidently setting about resolving them. In this lies the guarantee of strengthening the atmosphere of confidence and optimism in our society and its determination to progress forward and improve the state of affairs in every sector of communist construction without exception.

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GREAT FORESIGHT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 85 (signed to press 14 Aug 85) pp 23-34

[Article by V. Golobokov, written on the occasion of the 110th anniversary of K. Marx's work "Critique of the Gotha Program"]

[Text] Unification had become a necessity. It had grown, matured and, finally, taken place. At the Gotha Congress, which was held at the end of May 1875, the two workers' party organizations in Germany--the Lassallians and the Eisenachians--merged into a single socialist workers' party. A step forward had been taken in the country's revolutionary movement. It was dictated by the full circumstances of the struggle waged by the German proletariat. However, this practical step had been taken at the cost of theoretical concessions of a principled nature. The program adopted at the congress was a retreat from the previous Eisenach program.

Although welcoming the unification of the party, for "each step in a real movement is more important than a dozen programs," K. Marx and F. Engels sharply criticized the draft Gotha program. In a letter to W. Bracke, dated 5 May 1875, but also addressed to other party leaders, such as A. Geib, J. Auer, A. Bebel and W. Liebknecht, Marx wrote: "...My sense of duty does not allow me, even by maintaining diplomatic silence, to accept a program which, in my conviction, will be definitely unsuitable and will demoralize the party" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 19, p 11).

Marx's and Engels' sharp critical reaction to the draft program was entirely understandable. In a revolutionary movement (particularly a communist one) any practical step taken regardless of long-term tasks leads, in the best of cases, merely to a temporary success. A real movement not governed by theoretically substantiated and scientifically formulated objectives is an uncontrolled and inconsistent movement which loses its guidelines and tends to go backwards. Such negative features are greatly intensified by any ideological retreat.

The unification of German labor parties, which had become imminent, had to take place but not, however, at the cost of concessions of principle made to opportunism. If because of the existing circumstances, Marx wrote, it was no longer possible to "advance the Eisenach program any further, one should have simply agreed on action against the common enemy" (ibid., p 12). The adverse

consequences of theoretical compromises with opportunism--loss of direction by the movement, loss of its independence and demoralization in the ranks--are severe. Marx cautioned that those who believe that the price of this instant success had been cheap were wrong.

This was a question essentially of the programmatic objectives of the movement. At a time when the proletarian parties were merely being created, when they were only beginning to develop as an independent political force and when the working class itself had merely entered the path of transformation from a "class within itself" into a "class for itself," i.e., into a class clearly aware of its basic interests and able to distinguish them from the interests of the other social classes and systematically to work for their implementation, already then Marx drew attention to the characteristics of the future social system contained in the program of such a party. This was no accident, for the formulation of effective tactics substantially depends on the clear understanding of the final objective, the means of satisfying it and a profound understanding of the nature of events.

At that point Marx was not trying to draft a program for a workers' party. He was criticizing. However, as we read this apparently strictly polemical work, we are stunned by the extent to which criticism organically develops into a positive presentation of the main problems of the communist reorganization of reality. In this work, Marx formulated a number of basic ideas of great importance to this day, on the socialist revolution, the transitional period from capitalism to socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the two phases of the communist society, production and distribution of the public product in its first phase, the basic features of total communism and the conditions of its advent, the dialectics of the national and the international in the communist reorganization of society, the place and role of nonproletarian toiling strata in the revolutionary movement and others.

"...A new program," Engels pointed out, "is always an unfurled banner and it is by it that the outside world judges the party" (ibid., p 6). In criticizing the program adopted by the German social democrats, Marx formulated the basic principles which a party struggling for a new social system should inscribe on its banner.

Marx's entire theory, V. I. Lenin emphasized, is the application of the theory of development (dialectics) towards capitalism (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 33, p 84). The result of this application was the profound scientific reflection of the capitalist production method in its dynamics, presented in its logical sequence in Marx's "Das Kapital." Furthermore, Marx and Engels always tried to take the study of the development of bourgeois society to its final conclusions, to an understanding of the nature of the new social system (although in its most general yet essential features) which would replace the old one. Steady theoretical refining of the outlines of the future and tireless work for its sake are the leitmotiv of Marx's and Engels' entire revolutionary and scientific activities. However, among all of their works, Marx's "Critique of the Gotha Program" was singled out for the reason that it was precisely here that the theory of the three basic stages in the communist reorganization of social life and the two phases of the future system, the theory and elements of which may be found, in one

aspect or another, in virtually all of Marx's and Engels' works reaches its classical maturity. Theoretically, the "Critique of the Gotha Program" is the straight continuation of "Das Kapital," for it directly raises the question of the use of dialectics not only in the study of capitalism but also in "the future development of future communism" (V. I. Lenin, op. cit., vol 33, p 84).

The application of dialectics to actual reality means, above all, the consideration of the latter from the viewpoint of its progress toward something and from the viewpoint of its transformation. But into what? This is the main question to be answered by such a study. The answer is not easy, particularly when it is a question of replacing one socioeconomic system with another. The new society is not the simple extension of the old. It is qualitatively or, more precisely, essentially different. In terms of the historical process, this also means a break in continuity, a leap, a fault in history. This is not a simple change of features, qualities and properties of one aspect or another of human society. It is a change of historically defined forms, a change in the foundations and the very source of development of social life--the production method. In such a case, the anticipation of the future cannot be a simple extrapolation of the processes of today or tomorrow. It must indicate the radical, the essential difference of the future society and reflect the fact that the old society is truly replaced by a new one. Therefore, it was important to Marx to indicate precisely the essential distinction between the communist and the capitalist society, which presumes a consideration of communism and socialism in terms of their very essence. This is one aspect of the matter.

The other is that the new society does not appear out of thin air. It is the product of contradictions within the old society. In his analysis of the "Critique of the Gotha Program," Lenin wrote that socialism "stems from capitalism. It historically develops from capitalism and is the result of the effect of a social force created by capitalism" (ibid., p 85). At the initial stages in its establishment, the communist society cannot avoid carrying the features of the old social system or eliminating the "birthmarks" of capitalism. Historical continuity is manifested in the fact that the new social system furthers the development of human society as a whole, on the basis of prerequisites created by the preceding social system. The establishment of the new society, consequently, is the result of the effect of forces created within the old society and the process of transformation of these very forces in accordance with the essential features of the new system.

1

We know that in the Marxist understanding, history is the socialization of mankind. The historical stages of this socialization are the socioeconomic systems, each one of which is a specific social organization in a state of development. The viewpoint of the bourgeois concept of social life is the individual, and society as the simple total of individuals ("civic society," in bourgeois 19th century scientific terminology), "assembled" in a purely external manner. This is the foundation of petit bourgeois and opportunistic views on socialism.

In the Gotha program, these views were most clearly expressed in the Lassallian thesis of the future society, in which there will be a "just distribution of uncurtailed labor income." It is precisely against this thesis that Marx aimed his criticism.

If a society is a conglomerate, a simple total of individuals, all that it produces could be entirely distributed among its members. In itself, the reproduction of society becomes the reproduction of individuals. However, if society is something more than the simple sum of individuals, Lassalle's "just distribution of uncurtailed labor income" becomes meaningless, for, as Marx proves, society "curtails" the jointly produced product by subtracting from it the part which is necessary to maintain the existence and development of society as a whole.

The overall social product, according to Marx, breaks down into two parts. The first is needed to replenish the consumed means of production and to create new ones and as security against accidents, natural disasters, and others. The other part is used for consumption. In turn, it is divided into administrative expenses, which decline as the new society develops; increased social funds, used for the joint satisfaction of needs (education, health care, communal services, etc.); and funds for support of those who cannot work. "It is only at this point," Marx goes on to say, "that we approach the type of 'distribution' which, under Lassallian influence, has been so greatly limited and which applies precisely to that part of the consumer goods which is divided by the collective among individual producers" (K. Marx and F. Engels, *op. cit.*, vol 19, p 17). Marx describes here the process of social reproduction from the viewpoint of distribution relations and the slicing of the already produced social product. He considers all such distribution relations from the viewpoint of the needs for reproduction, the restoration of the material foundations of social life and expanding output. In other words, in this analysis the profound basic relations which develop in the course of the production process appear within distribution relations and determine them, for the product is divided in such a way as to be able to participate in the restoration of the production process itself and, on this profound basis, in the re-creation of the entire social entity. We see quite clearly here the fact that Marx considers the communist society as well a self-reproducing organic entity in all its aspects, each one of which is also a prerequisite for and result of the dynamics of the entity itself (see K. Marx and F. Engels, *op. cit.*, vol 46, part I, p 229).

Marx also characterizes the distribution of the remaining product among the members of the future socialist system from the reproduction viewpoint.

Initially he speaks of distribution in a communist society in general, regardless of its phase. "In a society based on collectivism and the joint ownership of means of production, producers do not exchange their products; whatever labor has been invested in the production of commodities is manifested here as the value of such commodities, as one of their inherent substantial features, for which reason at this point, unlike the situation in capitalist society, individual labor exists no longer indirectly but directly as a structural component of the overall labor" (K. Marx and F. Engels, *op. cit.*, vol 19, p 18).

Individual labor is direct social labor and a structural part of the latter, which does not need to assert itself as such with the help of indirect marketplace relations. Public ownership of means of production is the base for such an individual labor. These were the concepts which Marx formulated at this point in direct opposition to the bourgeois production mechanism, based on commodity-monetary relations.

Commodity output means production for the sake of trade rather than consumer value. This precisely is what capitalist production is, not only because its objective is value (added value) but also because it is itself organized in accordance with the laws of commodity exchange, on the basis of the purchase and sale of a specific commodity--manpower. The main objective in the application of manpower is to obtain a value greater than the value of labor. Equality and "justice" in the exchange of commodities turns into inequality and, furthermore, into the exploitation of man by man. "A characteristic feature of the capitalist epoch is the fact that to the worker himself manpower assumes the shape of a commodity he owns, for which reason his labor assumes the form of hired labor," Marx writes. On the other hand, it is only as of that point that the commodity form of the labor product assumes a universal nature" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 23, p 181). Therefore, capitalist production means developed commodity output or commodity production in its mature form. "The form of value of the labor product is both the most abstract and most general form of the bourgeois production method, which characterizes it precisely as a special as well as historical social production type" (ibid., p 91). In other words, as a historically defined production method, the bourgeois production method is distinguished by the development of commodity relations. This is its specific feature. Commodity relations are that same "abstraction" and simple "category" which, according to Marx, although "expressing a most ancient relation valid in all forms of society, nevertheless acts in this abstract practical truth only as a category inherent in a most modern society" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 46, part I, p 41). Consequently, the conditions for the existence of the bourgeois production method--private ownership of the means of production and the conversion of manpower into a commodity--are also conditions which allow commodity-monetary relations to reach their most mature forms. That is precisely why, in describing the nature of distribution in the new society, in his "Critique of the Gotha Program," Marx makes a direct comparison between this fact and distribution and trade which, under capitalism, are based on value and commodity-monetary relations.

Marx also needs this comparison to emphasize the radical distinction between the new and the old production method and to understand the way in which the new society originates from the old. In the latter case, in discussing the development of the new social system itself and the stages and phases of this development, i.e., the establishment of a communist, organically integral system, Marx does not limit himself to pitting the old against the new society. He also notes similar and even identical aspects and features of their dynamics (existence). However, he constantly emphasizes that these aspects (features) exist within radically different social systems.

Whereas in the development of a social system which has become an organic entity each prerequisite in its development is also a result of this development in the course of the establishment of the integral system, the initial factors of this establishment and its results are clearly distinguished as separate features of this process. The more the results of this development begin to participate in this process as its prerequisites, the closer we come to the complete establishment of the integral system.

The watershed which separates the new from the old social system was clearly defined by Marx: "A period of revolutionary transformation of the first into the second lies between the capitalist and the communist society. Consistent with it is a politically transitional period during which the state can be nothing other than a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat" (op. cit., vol 19, p 27). The proletarian revolution is the point of departure for the establishment of the new society, the very beginning of this process. The struggle against the obsolete system has by no means ended. However, the line has already been crossed. At this point the proletariat not only assumes governmental power, thus establishing its own political domination, but also makes the necessary economic changes related to establishing national ownership over the means of production and, on this basis, the organization of a socialist production system.

The seizure of political power and key positions in the economy make it possible gradually, as the socialist system expands and strengthens, to organize the production process on a collectivistic basis on the scale of the entire society. Marx described this stage as the first or lower stage of communism. It is lower because "here we are dealing not with a communist society which has developed on its own base but, conversely, with a society which stems precisely from a capitalist society and which, in all respects, economically, morally and intellectually, retains the birthmarks of the old society from which it emerged" (ibid., p 18).

Not on its own base.... Unquestionably, with this Marx emphasizes that the first phase of the communist system represents a stage of establishment in terms of its higher phase. At the same time, socialism as well goes through a number of stages in its development. At that time, however, Marx did not call for a consideration of these stages, for no factual data for such a consideration, no real socialism, existed as yet. Marx limited himself merely to a description of the most general yet essential aspects of the first phase.

Under socialist conditions, social ownership of the means of production and distribution according to labor lead to a thorough reorganization of the old production method. They change it without eliminating the continuity. What is this continuity? Above all, the existence of a common principle of equivalent exchange, the measure of which is labor. It is precisely this principle that is the base of commodity turnover and socialist distribution according to labor. Depending on the distribution of that share of the overall product which is destined for individual consumption in a socialist society, based on the labor contribution of the individual, we see that here as well the purpose is the corresponding organization of the production process and of the functioning of the main social production force--man.

Every producer, according to Marx "receives back from society, after everything has been subtracted, precisely as much as he contributes to it. His contribution to society is his individual labor share. For example, the social work day is a sum total of individual working hours. The working time of the individual producer is that part of the social working day he has contributed, his share of it. He obtains from society a voucher for the amount of labor he has contributed (subtracting his work in favor of social funds); it is on the basis of this voucher that he obtains from the social stocks the amount of consumer goods equivalent to the invested amount of labor. The same amount of labor he has contributed to society in one form is returned to him in another" (ibid.).

Marx further emphasizes that the principle of distribution according to labor and that of commodity exchange coincide to the extent to which the latter is an exchange of equal values. In other words, the coincidence is based on the assumption that the exchange is even. In the former case, however, it is a question of exchanging products of the direct social labor whereas, in the latter, of an exchange of goods, of a value exchange. These are two very different things.

Value is not simply the labor invested in the creation of a specific product but labor materialized in the commodity, i.e., in a product to be traded. Equality of values does not in itself mean equality of the labor invested in a product, for the specific work invested in the production of an item should earn a social recognition via the marketplace, by comparing it with other objects created under different circumstances, which could be more or less favorable. In a system of developed commodity output, exchange based on equal labor is more an accident than a pattern. In commodity exchange, Marx writes, principle and practice clash, for "an equivalent exchange exists only on an average, rather than in each individual case" (ibid., p 19). What is considered is only the socially averaged labor, the exchange of commodities through the market, rather than the actual labor invested under different production conditions and, therefore, itself quantitatively different.

The principle of equivalent exchange necessarily conflicts with the practice of developed commodity production and circulation also because (and above all) the exchange is actually nonequivalent in an area which is the foundation of such a production: in the organization of production forces by hiring manpower. The wage of the direct producer, Marx points out, "is not what it may seem; it is not the value or the price of labor but merely a concealed form of value or price of the manpower" (ibid., p 24). The producer is paid not on the basis of the actual labor invested in the production process but of the value of the manpower. Therefore, in this area there is no equivalent exchange based on labor, although there is an exchange which is entirely consistent with the laws of commodity turnover.

The content and form of equivalent exchange under the conditions of public ownership change, Marx points out, "because under the changed circumstances no one can contribute anything other than his own labor and also, on the other hand, individuals can acquire nothing other than individual consumer goods. As to the distribution of the latter among individual producers, the ruling principle here is the same as in the exchange of commodity equivalents: a

certain amount of labor is exchanged in one form for an equal amount of labor in another" (ibid., pp 18-19). It is this principle that indeed dominates, i.e., it must coincide with its practical implementation.

The coincidence of principle and practice under socialist conditions does not mean in the least the total exclusion of cases of violation of distribution according to labor. Something else is meant here: not the lack of deviations from the law but the absence of the law itself. Unlike capitalism, inherent in socialism is the fact that the principle and its practical implementation are one and the same, by virtue of the social nature of the system. Therefore, any type of violation of distribution according to labor is intolerable under the conditions of real socialism, for this affects the very foundations of the new society. Perfecting the specific socialist distribution mechanism and strengthening social justice in the distribution of material and spiritual goods are constant concerns of the community party, which is the leading and guiding force of socialist society.

As we pointed out, Marx did not set himself the task of analyzing the gradual development of the first phase of the communist system. Guided by his concepts, however, and relying on the experience of practical construction and in the course of this construction, it was Lenin, the Leninist party and the fraternal parties of the socialist countries who undertook to solve this problem. This not only confirmed the basic, the essential characteristics of the first phase of the communist system, as given by Marx, but also opened new facets of its theoretical prescience.

At the present time, socialist society in our country has entered the stage of its maturity. The characteristics of this stage are found in the documents of the 24th, 25th and 26th CPSU congresses, the decrees of party Central Committee plenums and the speeches of party leaders. If we try briefly to express the basic feature of developed socialism, compared to the previous stages in the development of socialist society, according to this formulation it would consist precisely of the intensified interdependence among all aspects of the social organism and the appearance of the type of internal link among them which would qualitatively change the nature of each one of them, turning them into organic links of a single entity. In other words, the stage of developed socialism is nothing other than the transformation of socialist society into an entity, a transformation which, although nearly at its beginning, has already clearly shown itself and left its mark on all aspects of social life.

Now, as was pointed out at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, our society is on the threshold of major changes based on the need for a qualitative reorganization of the economy. "The development of Soviet society," Comrade M. S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary points out, "will be determined to a decisive extent by qualitative shifts in the economy, its conversion to intensive growth and the comprehensive enhancement of its efficiency." The course of production intensification drafted by the party means, metaphorically speaking, increasing the "metabolism" in the country's economic organism, improving the system of interrelationships not only among sectors but also among production stages,

and optimizing the ratios which are developing in the course of the production and distribution processes and the utilization of the overall social product.

In connection with these tasks, the theoretical reflection of the developing socialist society is assuming increasing importance in Soviet social science from the viewpoint of the fullness and nature of its internal connections. Marxist-Leninist classical legacy and the theory of socialism and research methodology developed by Marx provide invaluable aid in this connection.

"We are currently taking serious steps to improve the economic base of socialism and its economic mechanism," M. S. Gorbachev said at the December 1984 All-Union Practical Science Conference. "Understandably, this work will be the more successful the better the social sciences indicate the way of development of production relations and the organization of economic management." Priority is assumed by basic problems, such as ways of accelerating scientific and technical progress and comprehensive production intensification; development of socialist ownership methods, which ensure the increasing organic combination of the direct producer with the social means of production; perfecting economic planning, as the main means of implementation of the party's economic policy; and ensuring the qualitative improvement of distribution relations.

Commodity-monetary relations existing under socialism should contribute to the implementation of these tasks. Better utilization of levers, such as price, production cost, profit, credit and others, will unquestionably contribute to the country's economic development. "Furthermore," Comrade M. S. Gorbachev also stressed, "reducing the tasks of the fuller utilization of the potential of the socialist social economic system merely to this would mean reducing the value of basic principles and advantages of socialism, such as the planned nature of our economy, the priority of social objectives of economic development and the possibility of its deliberate optimizing with a view to achieving deep production quality changes in the interests of society."

Based on socialist production relations, the purpose of the new system is to prepare the transition to the higher specifically communist phase of development of our socioeconomic system. It is precisely at this point that distribution will become possible not according to labor but according to need. The socialist principle of distribution, although not a variety of commodity, of value exchange, contains the type of equality which may be applied to people who are unequal (in terms of capability, character or actual living conditions). "With equal labor and, consequently, equal participation in the social consumption fund, in fact some receive more than others, become richer than others, and so on. In order to avoid all this or, more accurately, instead of being equal, one should be unequal" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 19, p 19). In the first phase, however, Marx emphasizes, such shortcomings are inevitable.

"At the higher phase of communist society, after the enslaving subordination of man to the distribution of labor has vanished, and, along with it, when this contradiction between mental and physical labor has disappeared, when labor is no longer a means of existence but the prime necessity of life, and when along with the comprehensive development of individuals production forces

grow and all sources of social wealth are fully used, only then will it be possible entirely to surmount the narrow range of bourgeois law and society would be able to inscribe on its banner: From each according to his capabilities and to each according to his needs!" (ibid., p 20). It was thus that Marx formulated the end objectives of the communist movement.

2

On the eve of the Great October Revolution, Lenin wrote his programmatic work "The State and Revolution" in which a separate chapter (Chapter Five) dealt with the future social system. This chapter was based entirely on the analysis of Marx's "Critique of the Gotha Program" which Lenin had made from the viewpoint of two basic trends: economic and political, and from the viewpoint of the stages of economic (and, more extensively, social) development of the new social system, and the development of communist statehood. The singling out of these leading trends makes it possible not only to recreate the integral picture of social progress but also to describe the basic features of Marx's criticism of opportunistic views on society.

The party program is a political document and the interpretation of the economic development of society is needed in order better to clarify the political tasks in the reorganization of the entire area of social life, including the production area itself. The specific Marxist approach to the study of social phenomena is to identify the internal link between the economic and the political and, in general, among all aspects of the social entity and to singling out within it its core, the * which is the foundation for functioning and source of development of the social organism. It is precisely this that distinguishes Marx's approach to the problems of politics and class relations, formulated in the Gotha program, from the approach of its authors. The question of the state is central among the political problems.

The opportunistic authors of the Gotha program considered the state a kind of autonomous being paning above society. That is why they were unable to see that a specific social system also creates a respective type of statehood, regardless of the type of rule. In considering the state machinery totally separate from the social organism (Prussian military-bureaucratic despotism, "garbed in parliamentary forms," merely strengthened this illusion), they steadily referred to its help in presumed "socialist" changes.

The state is not an autonomous entity standing above society but flesh from the flesh of the social system within which it exists. In a class society, the state is the administrative machinery of the ruling class; in a bourgeois society it is the organ of bourgeois class rule. To rely on the help of the bourgeois state in making socialist changes means failure to understand the actual situation. "The German Labor Party, should it accept this program, would realize how superficially it has become imbued with the socialist ideals; instead of considering the existing society (something applicable to any future society) as the 'foundation' of the existing state (or the future society as the foundation of the future state), conversely, it considers the state as some kind of autonomous being with its own 'spiritual, moral, free foundations'" (ibid., vol 19, p 27). The "autonomy" of bourgeois thinking,

which tries to consider all features as autonomous formations only superficially interlinked was manifested here with particular emphasis.

Marx's great merit is that even during the period of the establishment of proletarian parties operating within bourgeois societies burdened by various vestiges of feudalism he raised the question of the development of the future social system and emphasized the need for its scientific development. Marx blames the authors of the Gotha program for ignoring this question. The political stipulations raised in the program do not go beyond bourgeois-democratic requirements, for which reason the program cannot formulate the objectives and define the tasks of the labor movement. In other words, in this matter the program is essentially no program.

Lenin provided a similar elaboration of the problem of statehood and its development under the conditions of a communist system. It was from this angle that in his "State and Revolution" Vladimir Ilich thoroughly analyzed not only Marx's "Critique of the Gotha Program" but also Engels' 18-28 March 1875 letter to Bebel which was written also in connection with the publication of the draft. The main conclusions made by Lenin are today widely known. Equally widely known are the reasons, internal and external, which lead to the increased role of the socialist state in building communism. Without discussing all of this in detail let us merely mention an aspect the interpretation of which will enable us to gain a clear idea of the dialectics of political and economic relations in society, politics and economics as inseparable aspects of the single social entity. This refers to the process of "withering away" of the state.

We still come across a rather simplistic straight idea of this process as the simple disappearance of the political and legal functions of the state and its reduced role in social life. Since under real socialism the significance of the state of the whole people is currently increasing, the conclusion could be easily drawn that the anticipation of the founders of Marxism-Leninism did not come about.

To begin with, the socialist state is no longer a state in the strict meaning of the term. The reason for which Engels gave the Paris Commune its name was that the proletarian state was not an organ of coercion of the exploited class by the exploiting class. In suppressing the opposition of the oppressors, the state of proletarian dictatorship provides the type of actual freedom to the broad toiling masses which would be inconceivable even in the fullest possible bourgeois democracy. Whereas it was said about the first form of the socialist state--the dictatorship of the proletariat--that it remained a "semistate," this applies to a much greater extent and greater logic to the socialist state of the whole people. Under socialism the state withers away, for there are no longer capitalists. "Therefore, there is no class to be suppressed" (V. I. Lenin, op. cit., vol 33, p 95).

Secondly, the process of the withering of the state is manifested not simply in the elimination of some functions but also in the radical changing of the old ones and the acquisition of new, previously not inherent in the state. This is manifested with particular clarity in the fact that the state becomes the organizer and coordinator of the overall economic life of society. The

idea of converting the state into a socioeconomic center imbues all post-October (as well as many pre-October) Leninist works. The state apparatus, in the strict meaning of the term, he emphasized, "is destined to die whereas the apparatus of the type of a higher council of the national economy is destined to grow, to develop and to strengthen, assuming the entire most important job of organized society" (op. cit., vol 36, pp 377-378). Currently the state planning organs are the nucleus of the system of socialist economic management and improvements in their work determine the efficiency of overall economic management.

Naturally, centralized planning must not develop into a most detailed and petty supervision regulating the work of enterprises and organizations, paralyzing their initiative and restricting their independence. Strengthening centralized planning along the main lines presumes the further broadening of enterprise rights, use of true cost accounting and, on this basis, upgrading the responsibility for, and interest of the collective as a whole and of the individual worker in end labor results.

Enhancing the autonomy and responsibility of enterprises within the framework of the further advancement of planning and strengthening of plan and state discipline is a task for the present. This involves the problem of the already existing unified national economic complex of real socialism, as an indicator of problems which are currently being resolved by the socialist state. Such problems in the development of the statehood of the new social system were not especially considered by Marx in his work. However, the very reality of the currently functioning single national economic complex controlled from the center is the best proof of the accuracy of Marx's essential prediction: his emphasis on the need for a communist statehood and for its radically changed function and role. In this case Marx did not act as a prophet. He was a brilliant scientist equipped with the results of the preceding spiritual development of mankind and furthering this development.

The social processes which are taking place in socialist society make it necessary to pay attention to yet another important feature of the "Critique of the Gotha Program," i.e., that Marx made no distinction between the first and second phases of the communist system in terms of class structure. He considered both a single classless society. The class division existing under the conditions of real socialism is related to the fact that in the initial stages of development the new society undergoes a period of "completion" of its internal and inherent principles, the assertion of which reorganizes all realms of social life. As the drastically intensified process of erosion of distinctions among classes, the stage of developed socialism is a period in the history of socialist society in which the "completion" is nearing its end and an intensive development of society on its own foundations begins. The epoch of developed socialism is one of the embodiment of the essence of socialist society in its completeness. The elimination of the division of society into classes, in its main and essential features, started as early as the first phase of communism, and the possibility of which was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, clearly confirms Marx's theoretical designs.

Marx could see ahead across decades and centuries. Today, when socialist society has become reality, his scientific plan has by no means lost its

significance, nor could it, for in their discussion of the programmatic documents of the communist movement, Marx and Engels invested the entire power of their theoretical thinking which encompassed all spiritual achievements of mankind. It was the profound realization of this fact that allowed Engels to throw at his opponents the statement that "our party has absolutely nothing to learn from the Lassallians from the theoretical point of view, i.e., from the point of view of what is of decisive importance in a program..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 19, pp 1-2). This statement was not a manifestation of lack of modesty by a genius; in addition to everything else, it was based on profound knowledge of one's opponent.

Lenin considered it his duty to "consult with Marx" whenever it became necessary to weigh and make most important decisions. Yes, precisely, to consult in the manner in which revolutionaries from different countries came to Marx for advice, which always turned out to be the best. In precisely the same manner today communists, scientists and working people engaged in resolving the basic problems of our time turn to him for advice. The CPSU is the party of scientific communism. All of its activities in the reorganization of society are based on the achievements and conclusions of Marxist-Leninist theory. Marx's ideas are as relevant today as they were more than 70 years ago, when Lenin most clearly proved the reasons for this permanent relevance: "Marx's doctrine is omnipotent because it is true. It is complete and efficient, giving people a purposeful outlook, irreconcilable with any type of superstition, reaction or defense of bourgeois oppression" (op. cit., vol 23, p 43).

History is developing according to Marx. The same purposefulness which was characteristic of the activities of the founders of scientific communism may be seen in the advance of the international working class toward the full liberation of all mankind from capitalism and the inflexible building of a new society by the Soviet people and the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries.

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TOWARDS THE 27TH PARTY CONGRESS

FLEXIBLE SYSTEMS: PROBLEMS OF INTRODUCTION

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[Article by Candidate of Technical Sciences V. Krasnov and Candidate of Technical Sciences V. Prikhodko]

[Text] At the present stage in the economic development of mature socialist society the need for a decisive turn in converting the national economy to the track of intensive development becomes particularly crucial, so that it may assume the most advanced scientific and technical positions and reach the world's highest level of social labor productivity in a short time. The party gives priority to the radical acceleration of scientific and technical progress as the main strategic lever of national economic intensification and the better use of acquired potential, Comrade M. S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, emphasized at our party's Central Committee Plenum in April 1985. Flexible automated production systems, which permit the integration of comprehensive automation with all-round economy of manpower resources, are one of the most noticeable achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, which trigger qualitative and, one could say, revolutionary changes in industry.

Demands for updating output and improving its consumer qualities have increased lately. The final year of the current five-year plan calls for faster increase in machine-building and metalworking output. The manufacturing of the newest equipment and flexible automated production facilities grows significantly. In 1985 industrial robot production will be increased and will account for more than 14,000 units. The scientific and technical revolution provides for the introduction in industry of industrial robots and manipulators, programmed numerical control machine tools and computer devices for controlling technological processes and automated design. Technical cybernetics, automation and rotor technology, which substantially increase labor productivity while drastically improving production quality, are developing intensively. Automation today is the most important component of scientific and technical progress. The trends in comprehensive production automation are determined by its type. Thus, the application of automatic production lines and rotor technology is typical of mass production. For small-series production with large and frequently changing variety, flexible automated production systems (GAPS), i.e. rapidly readaptable production facilities, are the basic trend in comprehensive automation.

In analyzing GAPS one could say that "production flexibility" is manifested in one or another extent at any level of development of production forces. For example, one could call a system consisting of a universal machine tool and a skilled worker flexible. If, in this connection, there is a corresponding set of equipment, i.e. instruments and attachments, then such a production system can be readjusted to manufacture different parts and can easily be adapted to their changes. The degree of flexibility of a production system is determined by the speed and range of readjustment, but is not entirely covered by that. One must also remember the quality of control of the readjustments as well as of technological operations themselves in a readjustable system. The necessary quality of control is determined by the skill, experience and ability of the worker. The rigid system, which consists of a specialized single-operation machine tool and a worker, can serve as an alternative to the flexible system. In this system man's control functions are reduced to a fixed (determined) sequence of "on-off" type actions. Adaptive control, i.e. the possibility of adjusting to changes of external and internal nature, is typical of a flexible system.

In order to understand the functions of this latest revolutionary technology, one must study a production system consisting of an aggregate of universal machine tools and skilled workers. Its flexibility will depend both on the possibilities for MOVING pieces between machine tools and on how tasks are distributed among the work places, in order to turn out production in the shortest possible time or, as we usually say, to optimize the system's work. Moreover, situations are possible where, for instance, a machine tool breaks down or a worker goes on leave. Then the work organization of the entire system must be changed and reorganized. Here the control tasks acquire a new quality: those of structural organization in the presence of changing external (change of production demand) and internal conditions (unforeseen situations of technical or other nature) are added to controlling the process of influencing the labor object. Industry is constantly running into such continually complicating problems. Increased productivity, increased efficiency of equipment utilization and the improvement of production quality all depend on production flexibility. However, optimal control of a complex set of events becomes virtually impossible within traditional production.

The issue of comprehensive automation of such production activity elements as influencing the labor object, reorganization with a view to satisfying demand for new goods and the optimal management of these processes, including control, becomes urgent. GAPS are called upon to resolve this three-fold problem. How does this happen? In a certain sense, GAPS can be considered as a large machine tool with programmed numerical control (ChPU). ChPU machine tools enable not only the automation of the process of influencing the labor object, but also the automation of control reorganization for manufacturing new parts. The next step towards GAPS is the automation of retrieval and substitution of tools and attachments. This is followed by the automation of loading blanks and removing finished items, transporting them, automating tallying during system operations, automating auxiliary operations (such as the removal of waste), etc. Besides ChPU machine tools, the technical devices for such automation include processing centers, industrial robots,

manipulators, automatic transport devices and automated warehouses. Computer technology is particularly important to flexible automated production systems.

Above all, computer systems, known as terminal computer complexes, provide for the control of technological equipment (machine tools, technological robots, control and diagnostic devices). Furthermore, it is necessary to somehow coordinate the operation of the computers. The so-called network computer complexes fulfill this role. The overall tasks of management, calculation, storage of large volumes of information, processing system status information and optimizing its operation are entrusted to the controlling computer complex. These computer complexes, according to the nature of problems solved and the level of subordination, are a multilevel system, in the high end of which the controlling computer complex is distributed, and in the low end, the terminal computer devices. Such structures are usually known as hierarchical.

A generalized GAPS could be a particular aggregate of equipment which is capable of automatically reorganizing itself to produce a new item. One of the features of this aggregate is the fact that the system acquires the ability considerably to increase labor productivity and production quality in comparison to a simple set of universal equipment, each of which is tended by a worker. This is promoted by a high level of automation, resistance to external changes and to faults within the system, and the possibility of providing such technological routes which lead to the target in the shortest possible time. The widespread nature of transportation systems, which ensure the timely delivery of parts to the stipulated place, is characteristic of GAPS.

Information on the status of all vitally important elements of the system is forwarded to the controlling computer complex. The latter is the brain of the entire system, which carefully monitors the status of peripheral units and if necessary, reorganizes their work so that the system can meet its assignments.

An important property of GAPS, which distinguishes them from all previously used production systems in multiple production, is the possibility of operating without human participation for a long time, during second and third shifts for example. It is a question of so-called unmanned technology. Here it is appropriate to note that "unmanned production" can be ensured only if all the technical equipment in the GAPS is highly reliable. It is not enough to solve the structural questions and questions on controlling the complex processes of reorganizing the system; one must ensure the uninterrupted operation of computer hardware, robots, transport and technological equipment. The comprehensive solution of these problems alone will make the conversion from ChPU machine tools to comprehensive automated sections, shops and plants possible.

An essential functional GAPS feature is the capability of optimizing the production process, i.e. ensuring the output of quality goods with minimal outlays of time and resources. One may also note features such as freedom of choice of software, the possibility of carrying out an arbitrary operation in several positions simultaneously, and mobility (position shifting choice).

There are currently two approaches to GAPS structure. The first presumes the reorganization of production lines, in which complementing machine tools which can be readjusted for new production are sequentially unified. The second approach stipulates the multilevel hierarchical structure of technological grouping and control systems, the availability of a central warehouse and local warehouse-storage areas for each complex of interchanging machine tools, which compose the hardware part of the system. The hierarchical concept of GAPS is embodied in this approach. These GAPS systems are more complicated in implementation, but together they have many advantages, among which are the possibility of gradual expansion of the system, its maximal efficiency in the presence of partial automation (within the system complete automation is always provided for and contacts with manual operations occur through a central warehouse) and many others.

In connection with the development of GAPS, the problems of automated production control systems (ASUP) appear in a new light. Automated shop control systems deserve particular attention, since the shop is the fundamental production subdivision of the enterprise, acting as a production system. The shop could also be considered a hierarchical production system, consisting of sectional elements. Here the ASU resolves two groups of problems: organizational-current (current calendar planning, development of shift-daily assignments, control, accountability, etc.) and current-technological management (organization of the flow of control programs for flexible production modules, equipment status control, etc.). The controlling computer complex, upon which the tasks of shop ASU are placed, is included in the plant ASUP circuit through the use of technical and software connection methods. The efficiency of shop ASU is determined by the extent to which both control circuits work synchronously. Microprocessor equipment and personal computers play an important role in GAPS control systems.

Among the economic aspects of flexible automated production facilities, one should, above all, note their high capital intensiveness. Outlays for information and control systems account for a considerable share of all outlays in the creation of GAPS. At the same time, GAPS will offer the opportunity to reduce fixed capital and outlays while mastering new output. Based on the concept of unmanned technology, flexible automated production makes possible two- and three-shift work on the very same equipment in automatic mode, to increase the workload coefficient, and to substantially raise labor productivity due to the comprehensive automation of production processes, to reduce time loss in retuning of equipment, and to optimize the workload of fixed capital which lead to a shortening of the manufacturing cycle. GAPS presuppose a high level of production balance.

These systems are merely at their initial stages. Above all, the task of resolving the problems of updating production, anything from a new model of automobile, a fashionable suit, a modernized machine tool or any of a multitude of children's toys, is laid upon them. The concept of flexible automated production systems successfully combines such contradictory principles as mass production and variety. By means of GAPS it is possible to produce a large batch of consumer goods in a short time, such as clothing, while including elements in each article which distinguish it from the others. It is practically impossible to do this on an ordinary production line, since

it is impossible to rapidly convert to production of a new type of clothing when fashion changes. Here, two levels of production flexibility are needed: the capability of readjusting within the limits of the given variety and the capability of readjusting when variety changes. This does not apply only to the production of consumer goods. The social significance of these systems lies not only and even not so much in the fact that they can respond more rapidly to changing demand to satisfy our growing needs. It is important that GAPS promote change in the nature of labor. On the whole, man's participation in social production acquires new meaning: the transition from the applied technological functions of influencing the labor object to creative, more meaningful, and consequently, more productive labor, is accomplished. Flexible automated production systems are called upon to show how erasing the border between physical and mental labor is specifically accomplished, and how science is converted into direct production force. A significant increase in labor productivity promotes, on the one hand, an increase in volume of production of needed output; on the other, it stimulates the development of other economic spheres by redistributing labor resources, as in the service industry. In absorbing the latest achievements of science and technology, and involving ever new strata of working people in technological progress, GAPS promote the enhancement of society's intellectual potential. Machines do not detract from man. It is man who shifts to the machine functions which it can perform better than he can.

At this point, incidentally, it would be expedient to refine the term "unmanned production", in which applied technological and motor functions and the functions of logical automation are transferred to the machine. This transfer is accompanied and supported by the expansion of the realm of man's intellectual activity. Therefore unmanned does not mean production without activity for man. One of the basic aspects of the human factor in examining the social significance of flexible automated systems is represented precisely by this. All this now allows us to speak of GAPS as a new element in labor means. And here the problem of cadres acquires primary significance. It has two interrelated sides: training of cadres for both the creation of GAPS and for their utilization. The people who substantiate and develop GAPS should be skilled specialists in industrial cybernetics. Highly skilled technologists, electronics technicians, operators, tuners and repairmen are needed to service GAPS. The introduction of GAPS requires a different, higher standard of production and management. It is necessary to teach people, production managers above all, how to handle a large inventory of automated equipment and its technical servicing and to adapt the entire organization of work to today's highest stage of automation--robotization. It is necessary to train such cadres purposefully and, perhaps, in the manner in which future physicists are chosen, starting with grammar school. One must identify the talented children, capable of proving themselves in industrial cybernetics. The task is not easy, but it is realistic and can be resolved within the framework of the school reform.

VUZs (or industrial cybernetics departments) for training specialists in GAPS should be shaped as technical universities (similar to MIFI [Moscow Engineering Physics Institute] and MFTI [Moscow Physicotechnical Institute]). Such educational institutions, combining depth of corresponding fundamental knowledge with well-grounded study of production technology and organization,

are called upon to train specialists who understand the problems of comprehensive automation, who see them fully, and who want to and can work in this field. Lately, the training of specialists in robotics and industrial cybernetics has been organized in several of the country's VUZs. This work should be done more systematically, purposefully and consistently.

The design, manufacture and introduction of GAPS requires an essentially new type of interrelationship among developers, manufacturers and consumers, and the coordination of many organizations' and enterprises' efforts. A serious technical and economic study and substantiation should precede the creation and introduction of GAPS, so that the application of such complex and expensive equipment does not turn out to be onerous for the enterprise and does not lead to a reduction in capital return. The GAPS customer is required to clearly define the specific production purposes for creating such complex and expensive equipment and the list of processed items, to ensure the system's full workload and its coordination with other production sections.

Practical work on GAPS introduction is now being conducted in many enterprises. Shops and sections with unmanned production have appeared. However, urgent questions are arising on the implementation of such projects, related to the reconstruction of functioning production facilities, with a transition to automated shops without interrupting production output.

The development of new technology and the manufacture of prototypes are merely the beginning of a major project, in which the application problem is assigned priority. In this connection it is necessary to eliminate the disproportion in the distribution of labor and material resources between the development of automation means and their application. Equal funds should be invested in both application and development, since this entails such difficult problems as the revision of the structure of production areas, the organization of maintenance and repairs, and the enhancement of technological discipline, without which comprehensive automation, change in intershop relations and restructuring the existing wage system, would be inconceivable.

In terms of organizational aspects of creating and introducing GAPS in a specific plant, let us note that this is not a one-time project (fulfilled--reported), but part of the continuous process of technical retooling of enterprises with the goal of converting to intensive production development. Precisely for this reason the emphasis of work on creating GAPS must be shifted to plants and production associations, and include industrial cybernetics SKBs [Special Design Bureau] in their structure. Their creation would greatly contribute to the redistribution of engineering cadres. For example, in instrument building a significant part of the engineering and technical personnel is involved in checking items, which is essentially reduced to detecting assembly defects in the hardware. It goes without saying that finding an assembly defect in modern radioelectronic hardware is only within the capabilities of a highly skilled specialist. Nevertheless, it should be recognized that engineering knowledge and talent are not used here for their direct purpose. The specialist's creative potential, in particular, should ensure the output of flawless production on the basis of comprehensive production automation, including the creation of GAPSSs. Efforts of the modern engineer working in industry and of the scientist should be applied there.

GAPSS, being a new element in production forces, thus presuppose a change in the organizational structure of enterprises so that technical progress in production become the only means for implementing the plan.

Presently GAPS are being developed and introduced mainly for machine processing. This is determined by the fact that a corresponding material and technical base had already been created for it, such as ChPU machine tools, processing centers, industrial robots and the mastered technology for influencing the labor object. Work on GAPS creation is being done less energetically in instrument assembly. The specifics of the problem here lie in the great variety of labor objects and means of influencing them. Hence the diverse nature of technological operations (preparation of assembly conductors, forming leads for radioelements, plating, soldering, etc.). Instrument building is historically a rather young sector, but it has already gone through four generations (along with the technology). Therefore the means of comprehensive automation do not always keep pace with production updating. Flexible automated production is called upon to correct this situation. Another one of its features lies in the fact that in assembly production of radioelectronic hardware, the tasks of processing and assembling are resolved simultaneously. Frequently, one-of-a-kind radioelements and components are subject to assembly. The automation of assembly operations, especially under production updating conditions, is an incomparably more complex task than processing.

The characteristic features of the comprehensive automation of radioelectronic hardware production, computer hardware, for example, lie in the fact that within an extraordinarily short time (25-30 years) they have gone through three generations and are beginning the fourth, crossing the path from vacuum tube instruments and relays to major integrated circuits. If one takes the rapid pace of updating within the limits of each generation into consideration, this would only emphasize the timeliness and difficulty of creating and introducing GAPS in instrument building. Whereas machine building finds itself on the leading edge of scientific and technical progress, instrument building finds itself on the leading edge of machine building.

The architecture of modern radioelectronic hardware is based on the principle of combining modules on several levels, in each of which complex, sometimes one-of-a-kind technological processes take place. The first stage in introducing GAPS in instrument building is the development of basic modules for ensuring flexible, readaptable technology.

In our country, certain experience in creating such modules has already been acquired. For example, a series of technical automation facilities was created by Ulyanovsk scientists and specialists, which is of interest from the point of view of GAPS development in instrument building. They include an automatic manipulator for preparing the leads of integrated microchips for assembly, which can be readjusted for several types of forming and integrates the operations of forming, cutting, plating the leads of the integrated microchips, and loading them onto a pallet in one system. Such a pallet is then used in another module for mounting the microchips onto a board. The

module's program of operation is calculated beforehand by a computer and is stored on perforated tape. We also have experience in organizing sections of industrial robots, meant for stacking wires into plaits, by means of which electrical connections between radioelectronic nodes are ensured. Such robotic plait-stackers are used today to manufacture several dozen items, while their restructuring is reduced to changing the control program. All such modules triple or quadruple labor productivity, and increase it by more than tenfold in control and control diagnostic operations!

Much has been done in preparing a technical base for GAPS in instrument building, but this is only the very beginning of the work. It is also necessary to create reconfigurable modules for other technological operations, to standardize them, particularly in control systems, to work on reducing their cost, and most important--to resolve questions of systemic nature, to integrate modules and complexes into an unmanned production system.

Work in this direction is being done in many of the country's cities -- Leningrad, Moscow, Saratov and Kiev. While permitting a certain diversity of trends with the goal of identifying the best developments, it is nevertheless important to reduce the number of duplicating actions, having directed the efforts towards resolving new tasks. Success in creating GAPS also depends greatly on how soon flexible automated production modules will be equipped with modern microcomputers and microprocessor systems. It is also necessary drastically to increase the output of such equipment in order simultaneously to satisfy the needs of all enterprises. Including computers within GAPS structure allows the creation of standard information and control systems, designed according to the hierarchical principle. Such an approach ensures the introduction of different scales of GAPS with minimal outlays of resources and time.

The creation of GAPS as one of the decisive factors of industrial intensification is a matter of great importance. Here as well the reorganization of economic thought, as well as improving work styles and methods under conditions of comprehensive production automation, has great significance. Work on creating GAPS incorporates an entire complex of measures of scientific, production, technological, socioeconomic and ideological nature. While noting the objective stipulations of industry's transition to intensive development, one should be oriented towards man's ability to perceive comprehensive automation as a vital necessity and his deep conviction in the fact that it is possible to solve the problems presented, regardless of their difficulty.

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A SUPREMELY IMPORTANT TASK

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pp 43-54

[Text] To move only forward, gathering speed. There can be no slowing or temporizing, there is no time for vacillation. That is the motto of our times, of that intense and dynamic period which our country has entered. It is necessary to increase pace. It is necessary to do today what can be done today. There are too many pressing matters, the tasks are too great and complex. And consequently the responsibility of each and everyone is being increased. Exactingness and again exactingness. Toward oneself. And primarily toward the communist.

There are still many unsolved problems and difficulties, both objective and subjective. And among these obstacles there is one which has turned into a socially dangerous evil. The difficulty of the situation which has arisen has caused the appearance of documents of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on measures to overcome drunkenness and alcoholism. In conditions where life and its dynamism dictate the necessity of further changes and transformations and of the achievement of a new qualitative state of society in the broadest sense of the word, what is involved is the eradication of a phenomenon which is breaking our forward movement and the development of man himself.

"The country's historical destiny and the positions of socialism in the contemporary world largely depend on how we conduct our work in the future," the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum stressed, "by widely utilizing the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution and by bringing the forms of socialist economic operations into accord with contemporary conditions and requirements, we must achieve a substantial acceleration of socioeconomic progress. There is simply no other way."

The party has always linked scientific-technical and social progress together, regarding all the diverse problems of perfecting man as the most important condition for social development, and as its end. When it speaks today of the need to overcome negative tendencies in economic development and to make matters take a sharp turn of the better, the party excludes the path of curtailing social programs. Care for the welfare, education and health of

people continues to be at the center of its attention. The acceleration of scientific-technical progress and the possibilities which it opens up for spiritual perfecting and for the fuller discovery and revelation of people's abilities and talents correspond to our society's main orientation of values.

But the movement of scientific-technical progress is itself determined primarily by the human factor, which is the determining factor in all changes. The most productive scientific ideas and the most perfect technologies--the fruit of the mind and work of man--can fail to produce the proper returns without the interested participation of everyone. Man is the main productive force of our society, and that society is striving to comprehensively develop his spiritual, moral and physical potential. But the achievement of this goal is being obstructed to an ever greater extent by drunkenness. The liquidation on this problem, which has become more acute in recent years, is becoming the condition for the implementation of the planned economic and social programs and for the solving of the tasks set by the April Plenum and by the conference on questions of accelerating scientific-technical progress which was held in the CPSU Central Committee.

I

Even the ancient philosophers called the passion for alcoholic drinks an exercise in madness and a voluntary insanity. This madness and insanity has been alive for millenia. Now, too, it punctiliously fulfills its dark duties.

The "green serpent" has always had both its admirers and its convinced opponents. Worship, of the cup, horn or glass of intoxicating liquor destroys the human organism and leads to the degradation of the personality, a truth which has been widely known at all times. The struggle against wine-drinking is a problem common to mankind, but various socioeconomic systems have, by authority of their ruling classes, evaluated it in various ways. The attitude to the nation's health as well as the norms of the morality common to mankind could never be free of the diktat of class interests. In order to justify selfish egotistic interests, people's misfortunes were often declared to be "neutral," "eternal," "inherent in man's very nature," his leaden instincts," and so forth. All of this fully applies to drunkenness and alcoholism.

Humanity always armed itself with human vices. The biography of drunkenness and alcoholism over many centuries is the clearest confirmation of this. In the conditions of capitalist formation the intoxicating poison became a tool for exploiting the proletariat and a means of morally enslaving it. It brought substantial revenue in the period of "primary accumulation," a short time later it was loaded into colonizers' ships together with powder kegs, and at the beginning of this century it became firmly established in the arsenals of imperialist policy.

In 1907 the Diet of Finland planned to introduce a ban on the sale of spirits, but France only had to intimidate the tsarist government of Russia with the threat of refusing it credits for crude pressure to be applied to the diet, which had to capitulate. After World War I, it was again France which

acquired the right by the Treaty of Versailles to export spirits to conquered Germany in unlimited quantities and under favorable customs conditions. As they say, the victors are not judged.

In France, Germany and other countries, literally sober voices sounded out in this period, fighting for the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism as the curse of mankind. But many arguments avoided the main capitalist argument, which was the percentage of profit from the production and sale of spirits.

Alcoholism and drunkenness are alien to socialism, unlike capitalist society, in the same way as they are alien to the class nature of the proletariat. The nature of a class is, like the nature of a person, shown most clearly at turning points, when evolution ripens to the point of the outburst of revolution, when phenomena become substantial in the literal sense of the word, and when the most profound laws of the economic, political and sociopsychological development of the workers class take on the nature of concrete and absolutely natural actions by the masses.

So it was in the period of the first Russian revolution, too. The first soviet of workers' deputies in history, which was born of the people's initiative in Ivanovo-Voznesensk in May 1905, resolved in only its second session to regard the creation of a civil militia, the preservation of order, the closing of wine shops and the struggle against drunkenness and games of chance as paramount tasks. The next day the soviet's decision on the closing of wine shops was unanimously supported at a meeting of many thousands of workers.

The victorious proletarian revolution had to face the same problem 12 years later, only in an even more acute, naked, and uncompromising form. The Russian counterrevolution adopted alcoholism and drunkenness as its weapons in literally the first days after the victory of the Great October Revolution. In November 1917 there appeared organizations with solid financial funds and with a clearly stated goal: to drown the revolution in a flood of wine and vodka, to create an atmosphere of universal alcoholic intoxication, and in this situation to overthrow Soviet power. Each person who organized a group of the population to rob wine stores received 15 rubles in cash every day.

It is possible to gain a clear picture of the events of those days from the final film of the well-known film trilogy about Maxim, "The Vyborg Side." Those who have seen it will probably remember the scenes of the looting of the wine store and the subsequent social trial of the organizers of this provocation. But the film showed just one episode. In real life everything was considerably more complicated.

On 5 and 6 December 1917 a counterrevolutionary plot of the Constitutional Democrats and the Black Hundreds was uncovered, and 20,000 copies of instigative leaflets were confiscated. "Petrograd was inundated with a storm of drunken destruction," recalled V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich, who was appointed chairman of the committee to struggle against looting which was formed during those days. G. I. Glagonravov, the commissar of the Petropavlovsk fortress, became the ordinary military commissar of the city for the struggle against

drunkenness and looting. The situation became so acute that on 6 December 1917 Petrograd was declared to be in a state of siege.

During those days Lenin wrote a note to the Petrograd Committee of the RSDWP(b): "Please send no less than 100 absolutely reliable party members to Room 75, third floor, the committee to struggle against looting (for duty as commissars)."

"The task is of supreme importance. The party is responsible. Turn to the rayons and plants" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 50, p 17).

On 6 December an announcement was published in the newspapers: "attempts to raid wine cellars, stores, shops, private apartments, and so forth, will be halted with machine gun fire without any warning."

The threat had no effect. It was necessary to open fire. Such was the logic of the class struggle: "They fought against vodka with machine guns and rifles because vodka had become a weapon aimed at Soviet power. What was involved was saving the newborn proletarian state."

The first Soviet people's revolutionary court had been held a month before. The makers of the film "The Vyborg Side" fairly accurately depicted both the setup and the procedure of the first court sessions, in which all those present took an active part. They could question the accused and the witnesses, and the sentence was adopted by a general vote. The first such court session did in fact take place on the Vyborg side, and the first case to be examined was one of drunkenness. The defendant--a fighter in the people's militia--created an uproar in the street while under the influence of spirit.

The fact that the struggle against mankind's curse on thousands of years took on such an acute nature in the first day of Soviet power can in no way be consigned to the category of coincidence. This was a natural and law-governed reaction by the victorious proletariat to one of the methods which the overthrown exploiters had often used against it. The decision of the first soviet of workers' deputies in history in May 1905 and the defeat of the counterrevolutionary plot in December 1917 have the most direct link. The essence of these events is the same: Drunkenness is incompatible with the interests of the workers class, and it is necessary to struggle against it in the most resolute manner.

According to the reminiscences of Klara Tsetkin, Lenin said in a conversation with her: "The revolution demands concentration and a strain of forces from the masses and the individual. It will not tolerate orgiastic states.... The proletariat is the ascending class. It does not need intoxication, which would stifle it or excite it. It needs neither the intoxication of sexual abandon nor the intoxication of alcohol. It cannot and does not want to forget about the vileness, filth, and barbarity of capitalism. It derives its strongest motivation to struggle from the position of its class and from the communist ideal. It needs clarity, clarity, and more clarity. For this reason, I repeat, there must be no weakness and no squandering and destruction

of forces. Self-control and self-discipline are not slavery...." ("Reminiscences of Vladimir Ilich Lenin." In five volumes. Vol 5, Moscow, Politizdat, 1979, p 47).

Sobriety is the immutable norm of the socialist way of life. Drunkenness and alcoholism are becoming amoral and antisocial on the scale of society as a whole. The passion for spirits has come into glaring conflict with the social-historical, economic and social conditions of the new way of life. It is for this reason that this question is so acutely presented in the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee.

II

The resolutions presently being adopted are aimed primarily at the struggle against a socially dangerous phenomenon and not simply against inveterate drunkards, at a long-term and not a campaign struggle. The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee stresses that previously planned measures to eliminate drunkenness and alcoholism did not produce the necessary results precisely because they were implemented in the form of a campaign, without the necessary coordination of the actions of state and economic organs and of party and social organizations. In the situation which has arisen more profound work is required, without oversimplification or impulsive actions, and with a combination of the efforts of theory and practice. It is not enough to report that drunkenness is fed by "ignorance and prejudice," as is often repeated in the press, or that it can be explained by the strength of traditions or by historical inertia. The fact that it has existed for a long time and that it can acquire fairly wide scope make it necessary to examine more attentively the conditions and reasons for the stubborn vitality of this phenomenon which is incompatible with socialism, to lay bare its objective and subjective roots, and to develop a well-grounded platform of long-term constructive actions which will contribute to its total liquidation. That is how the party poses the question today.

It has been recommended that the USSR State Committee for Science Technology, the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, and the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, in conjunction with interested ministries and departments, develop an all-state comprehensive program for the prevention and overcoming of drunkenness and alcoholism, including social, economic, demographic, educational, legal, psychological and medical-biological aspects of this problem. What is involved is materially, scientifically, and ideologically ensuring the enormous work aimed at the total liquidation of drunkenness, for only under this condition can the struggle become real and not just declarative.

In which basic areas is attention being concentrated?

Man lives by work, and it is natural that we are linking methods of realizing the planned measures primarily and directly with production and the work process itself. Of course, it is necessary to put an end to the situation whereby a drunkard can live for months not working or shirking work, living parasitically on the humanism of our system. Already Engels wrote that in a socialist society--a society of working people--it is necessary to organize

economic life in such a way that "no one would be able to push his share of participation in productive work onto the shoulders of others..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 20, p 305). In this respect our laws and their implementation are becoming stricter.

But in this connection we cannot help being concerned about something else, too. If work is the basic sphere where the person's essential strengths are displayed and the determining condition of his development as a worker and an individual, then it is a matter of no indifference to society whether the creative potential of everyone is realized (regardless of whether he works at a machine, in the fields, or in a scientific institution), whether a person has the opportunity to reveal himself in his workplace or else seeks methods of "self-expression" in something else, and in particular in drunkenness and, in this walk of life, in bragging to others.

It is known that the attitude to a task primarily determines the task itself. Today work is already turning into the first vital requirement of many Soviet people. But far from all work is capable of developing such a requirement. Man is being drawn to an increasing extent to work that is full of content and sense, skillfully controlled, and which brings personal satisfaction, and young and more educated people want more and they want it more quickly. Unproductive and monotonous work clearly does not attract them. In answer to their completely natural claims they often frequently hear the argument: not all at once. But sometimes this argument is only to justify the poor introduction of production mechanization and the slow reduction of the proportion of manual labor. A way out of this contradictory situation, in which the level of education, culture and demands of a worker do not correspond to the monotony or unattractiveness of his work, can frequently be seen in the search for compensatory factors of various kinds. But is this the best way out?

Today the entire country's efforts are being directed toward acceleration of scientific technical progress in every way possible. And if a healthy working atmosphere and the liquidation of drunkenness are becoming one of the conditions for the most rapid assimilation of its achievement, then scientific-technical progress is itself undoubtedly becoming one of the conditions for the liquidation of drunkenness. What is involved is not simply the substitution of materialized labor for living labor, but also its considerable intellectualization--something which the scientific-technical revolution, in particular, characterizes--and an increase in the "intellect-intensiveness," if one may put it that way, of work. This is a requirement both of production and of today's worker himself. A person who is enthusiastic about the design, set-up, and utilization of an interesting machine and about mastering the newest technology, and who is gripped by a creative impulse, puts maximum spiritual strength into his work. He needs no "doping," including that with alcohol.

In certain company it is possible to hear someone say with affected pride and a certain air of superiority that he has found work in which "there is not really anything to do." Unfortunately, this has not been such a rare phenomenon in recent times. But as a rule, behind such bravado lie a longing for real work and an emptiness of spirit, and no easy money, well-arranged

daily life, or company with vodka will fill this emptiness. It is in the nature of a person to strive after dreams and significant tasks, testing to overcome even oneself. And the higher the demands made on him by this same work, the stronger his aspiration to meet these demands.

Socialism creates for the first time the opportunity to draw, in Lenin's words, "the real majority of working people into the arena of work in which they can show themselves, develop their abilities, and discover talents which are an untapped spring among the people...." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 35, p 195). In contemporary conditions such an opportunity is becoming increasingly real. The economy of mature socialism, with its scale and complexity, raises high as never before the significance of the human personality. And if the development of this personality is becoming an increasingly important "resource" of the economy, then it is natural that ever greater significance is being acquired by encouraging this personality and its abilities, and supporting a person's activeness and interest. But how often do we still come up against the fact that work well done does not receive proper recognition, and that people can and want to do more, but are not given such an opportunity. But after all, life frequently links problems which seem to be on such different levels as the problems of drunkenness and the moral motives of work activity.

You must agree that we have a considerable number of people for whom basic earnings have ceased to be basic, a side-line has become the main work, and the main work has moved into second place. In one of his last sketches, the writer Anatoliy Agranovskiy reflected: "Why can the type, the character with which we are occupied, not realize himself in production, with all its mechanization and labor protection? Why is he there distinguished by a lack of vices rather than the presence of virtues? Why does he find it more convenient to set his mind, skills, and inventiveness to work beyond the gates of the plant, kolkhoz or construction site? In a normal arrangement of life it should still be profitable (both to the individual and to society) if the baker bakes pies while the cobbler sews boots. And not as private handicraftsmen, but in the collective, not in leisure time, but in work time."

Party documents of recent times persistently emphasize the necessity of introducing more widely into production the principles of the brigade contract and economic accountability relations, in which each worker has the opportunity to make the maximum contribution to the common cause and in which care of oneself presupposes care for all. It is known that the wider the individual's social ties are, the richer he is spiritually. When democracy of management enters, as it were, the very technology of production, when a person feels himself to be not the fulfiller of a confined operation (from whom sometimes nothing more is even expected), but the master of the entire production produces, then people's responsible mutual interdependence, which excludes any kind of indulgence to oneself or others, will be strengthened.

Today, serious measures are being undertaken in order to widen the participation of working people in managing production and to establish democratic principles in labor relations and also a collective material interest which contributes to strengthening the collectivism of socialist social relations. To give everyone a taste for work which requires full

performance and an awareness of responsibility is to dispel many people's conviction that little depends on them personally, to prevent their passiveness and a "retreat into themselves" (which often ends in drunkenness), and to improve the atmosphere which has formed in a number of labor collectives.

The entire complex of highly complicated questions connected with man and his work, and with his more active participation in social life, cannot but be at the center of attention when what is involved is the effectiveness of the struggle to overcome drunkenness and alcoholism. This is one of the most important areas of concrete actions of both practical workers and social scientists, who are still faced with the analysis of many problems arising in this connection.

III

Our orientation today is toward the development of all forms of man's social activeness. And they are very diverse and touch the spheres not only of work, but also of daily life, leisure and free time, and require modern solutions to problems of health care and culture, sport and tourism, trade and the service spheres. Serious attention is being paid to these questions. The social program which the party will advance at its 27th Congress is being carefully developed. In the near future a comprehensive program of development for the production of consumer goods and for the service sphere will be approved. The measures taken to overcome drunkenness and alcoholism envisage substantial strengthening of the material basis of cultural-educational and physical culture-mass work. To be specific, the USSR Gosplan, the USSR State Committee for Construction Affairs, the USSR ministries and departments and the councils of ministers of the union republics have been instructed to provide--in preparing the draft plan for the USSR's economic and social development for the 1986-1990 period--for the construction of cinemas, palaces and houses of culture, clubs, libraries, sports buildings and social eating enterprises, especially in new urban residential rayons and in villages.

But it is precisely in the social sphere that there exists a mass of practical and theoretical questions which social science has so far either not raised at all or has not properly interpreted, because for a long time they were considered rather secondary. It will be easier to set many matters in motion if our economists, sociologists and psychologists have their weighty say here, and the local organs of power and the economic workers listen to their conclusions and recommendations.

A real evaluation of the situation makes it necessary to seriously ponder over the fact that the problems of the discrepancy between material potential, free time and the nature of needs already exists and is becoming one of the reasons for the exacerbation of unhealthy phenomena (including drunkenness) in our society. And as the standard of living rises, so this problem may become even deeper if the cultural level of the individual lags and if proper attention is not paid to the development of needs and to the sphere of leisure.

For a lengthy period we were in fact in conditions where life itself, in Marx's expression, was just a "means to life" (see K. Marx and F. Engels,

"Soch.," Vol 42, p 93). In order to stand its ground, establish itself and ensure its defense capability, the country--and the older generation of Soviet people experienced this for themselves--had to practice conscious self-restraint. With every step forward, and as successes were achieved in socialist construction and in the liquidation of the consequences of war, the material conditions for a constant increase in people's welfare and for their comprehensive development have grown accordingly. Our standard of living is now described by more than 100 different indexes in the state plans. Three-quarters of the country's national income is used for consumption, while, taking into account expenditure on housing and social-cultural construction, four-fifths of the national income is spent directly on the people's welfare. The standard of living, as specialists note, has crossed the boundary below which the structure of consumption is little subject to changes; an increasing proportion of the population is entering the "zone" of a high degree of changeability and "elasticity" of consumption. And this means a growing demand for cultural goods, for new and expensive articles, not only for the things needed for everyday life, but also for various kinds of technical equipment, construction materials and cooperative housing.

It is clear how important it is today to be ready--not only materially but morally--for such changes, and to have a clear understanding of the reasons and consequences and of the laws which are in evidence here. Bourgeois ideologists assert that increasing welfare is capable of automatically destroying a socialist state of an ideological orientation, which was created by the entire historical experience of development and in which spiritual values play a leading role. Life proves convincingly that the system also operates in practice in conditions of sufficiency, while sufficiency itself, as a consequence of the implementation of our social policy, serves the development of this system. But we have no right not to notice phenomena of another order, into which category drunkenness also belongs; we cannot brush aside acutely arising questions, and we cannot do other than seek ways of eradicating that which is incompatible with the principles and demands of socialism. And one of these ways, particularly with regard to overcoming drunkenness, is educated demand and its sensible orientation, and the formation of the individual's taste and tendencies.

Serious efforts are now being made in order to give the population goods with his consumer qualities and to overcome "the deformed structure of our commodity circulation and services" (and at the same time to get rid of the production of spirits as a substantial revenue item). Much of the practical implementation of this plan depends on how much it will be coordinated with the law of increasing demands, which reflects the indispensable link between production and consumption, depends on the extent to which economic practice is oriented precisely toward the development of demands--for those which have already been satisfied naturally cease to serve as an effective stimulus of the growth of production and of a person's work activeness--and on how accurately the direction of change of demands is picked out.

Of course, it is impossible not to notice certain manifestations of thoughtless consumerism, and impossible not to see how on this basis there develops in some people an unhealthy rivalry, egoism, indifference to the genuine values in life, and certain "accessories of success," among which is

the presence of numerous strong beverages in the home. The struggle against such tendencies is undoubtedly necessary. But what is almost "plebeian-proletarian asceticism" (as Engels called it in his day) it often preached under the guise of this struggle. Meanwhile practice confirms that if a person becomes, say, a member of a collective gardening association, he not only works and rests with pleasure on his plot, he also acquires an inclination for a sphere of knowledge which is new to him, he strives to study the special literature, to assimilate the experience which has been accumulated, to master the necessary skills, and so forth. "Consumerism" of this kind is clearly to the benefit of both the person and society.

In the approach to this question there must also occur a certain psychological reorientation in the spirit of the new demands. To struggle against the philosophy of philistinism which has become fairly widespread, and to struggle against "spiritual idleness," which leads to drunkenness, also means to contribute in every possible way to the development and satisfaction of growing needs and to engage in a moral real way in the problem of the rational use of free time, a matter in which our trade union, Komsomol, and sports organizations are still insufficiently active.

The problem of the construction of palaces of culture and clubs is now being solved. And the pressing question which arises is no longer one of where young people are to pass their time, but of how they are to pass it. In many places virtually the entire organization of cultural work is reduced to films and dances. However the palace or club should fulfill also other most important social functions, to be a place for contacts and interesting meetings, and to promote the development of creative inclinations and talents.

Of course, man's cultural horizons are today being widened by television. But its increasingly widespread nature also makes it necessary to introduce something fundamentally new into the organization of leisure and to seek other forms of work with the already experienced and trained viewer which will prompt him to action and creativity. What is involved is that a person should not only merely "consume" spiritual values, but make full use of them in his various activities, and that culture and its assimilation and creative development should be an inseparable part of the Soviet worker.

The party particularly stressed the need to improve the organization of our people's leisure, primarily that of the young, to create conditions which ensure sensible utilization of free time, to develop a network of interest clubs, including in places of residence and to organize tourist and excursion work. Scientific-technical progress creates the necessary material preconditions for the development of this sphere of our life too. We are aiming at ensuring that free time and free activities in life will become the condition for "that total development of the individual which itself, as the greatest productive force, in turn has a return effect on the productive force of work" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 46, part 2, p 221).

It is important not to lose sight of this when we are striving with common joint forces to establish a healthy work and moral atmosphere everywhere. The perfecting of social planning should also further the comprehensive solving of the numerous questions connected with this. As practice shows, social

planning achieves real goals if it is based on a prognosis of the probable social consequences of the adopted plan resolutions and on knowledge of social needs and of the mechanism of their formation and development that is as reliable as possible, and also if the regulation of the sphere of economic relations and the sphere of cultural and everyday living conditions are not detached from one another and do not become confined within the framework of an individual enterprise or collective.

Of the entire complex of measures to overcome drunkenness and alcoholism, those which are connected with medically ensuring this struggle stand out. The number of work-therapy dispensaries and narcotics consulting rooms and outpatient clinics has to be increased, and the production of medical substances and a wider training of medical narcotics specialists have to be taken care of. But that, one might say, is only the "tip of the iceberg." What is involved is the intensification and deepening of attention toward medical-biological aspects of the problem, and also the establishment of a healthy everyday life and a healthy family. The need arises for comprehensive research into man's problems, research with its social-moral, psycho-physiological, medical-genetic, ecological and so on. Also necessary is vigorous wide-scale and multifaceted activity to create a healthy environment, and local soviet organs can and must play an enormous role in organizing and directing this activity.

In this connection there cannot but be mention of our own mutual relations, too, of lack of restraint in our treatment of each other, of a lack of respect for a person's private life, or else of excessive alienation and indifference. Marx once spoke of the need "for that greatest wealth which another represents" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 42, p 125). It hardly needs to be proven how important it is in today's conditions to develop this need and value this wealth.

IV

In the implementation of measures to overcome drunkenness and alcoholism, particular importance is being acquired today by the ideological work and activity of the mass information media, which are called upon to help everyone to realize the goals and interests of our common struggle and to comprehend his place in it. This is connected both with the solving of topical theoretical tasks, primarily with the research into the dialectical laws of the social and individual awareness, and also with the purely practical tasks of education. It is important to search for concrete methods of increasing the social activeness of working people and to reveal ways for a person to show civic self-expression and self-assertion.

In this connection it is difficult to overestimate the role of the influence of social opinion. However, it is no secret that for many years in our country there was a widespread attitude of a certain tolerance toward drunkards, and even of sympathy for them. The anti-alcohol campaign was conducted spontaneously, it did not touch on acute questions, and it was not of an aggressive nature. In a word, an atmosphere of complacency formed, which engendered an all-forgiving and careless psychology. Moreover, not only was there no rebuff of certain stereotypes of bourgeois propaganda aimed at

undermining the moral health of the Soviet people, but they were tacitly accepted.

Let us be frank: Even now the opinion is still widespread that drunkenness was always and at all times a concomitant of our history, that it was traditional, inevitable, and ineradicable, and that it almost lay in the national character. Bourgeois theoreticians very often spend time laboring over this these (not, let us note, just in this century), trying to suggest to the gullible that "aggression" and "violence" have been inherent in the nature of our people from ancient times.

Persistent traits of national character or, as the ethnographers write, the psychological makeup of a people, depend not so much on traditions as on existing social-historical conditions. Our past provides many examples of this.

In 1859 N. A. Dobrolyubov devoted an article to one very interesting phenomenon. This is how he depicts the social opinion of that time with considerable irony:

"How many times have they asserted to the world,' that the Russian peasant is a drunkard, that he drinks from woe and drinks from joy, that he drinks when a child is born, at a wedding, and at a funeral, that he drinks out of fatigue on a workday, and that he drinks twice as much on a holiday to celebrate rest. They were ready to argue to the bitter end that our peasant would sooner part with his life than with his raw vodka, and that he would sooner starve his children to death than cease to enrich the tax farmer...."

The "arguments" of the defenders of wine-drinking which were current more than a hundred years ago can still be heard today, too: here too belong Prince Vladimir's words that "drinking is the merriment of Russia" and the arguments that it is an age-old custom and that the harsh climate demands it.

Antipopular propaganda has always operated. It too has its traditions, its continuity of ideas, and its stereotypes which were passed from generation to generation. Hypocritical "care" for the good of the people was always included in this propagandist kit as the most indispensable component. The capitalists, for example, while indulging alcoholism among workers in every way, as Engels noted in "Letters From Wuppertal," "lower the pay of workers by all possible methods, supposedly in order to deprive them of the opportunity to drink" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 1, p 456).

The "intellectuals" of tsarist Russia "suffered deeply" for the "dark" people and did not spare highly moralistic calls to enlighten, explain, exhort, and to teach "moderate" and "cultured" drinking. These slogans also make themselves felt today and migrate to the pages of some works of literature and to the television and cinema screens.

But let us return to the past. In 1858 and 1859 the Russian peasant suddenly stopped drinking vodka. The increase of indirect taxes on spirits served as the cause of this. The cause, but not the reason. In essence this was a mass action by the oppressed against their exploiters, the peculiar form of which

is explained by the economic and social circumstances of the serf state. It was to an analysis of this even which surprised the "educated public" that N. A. Dobrolyubov devoted his article. "...Such a general and sudden movement," he wrote, "could not have been the result of fine words alone, but must have had its reasons in life itself...."

And everyday life itself provided cases which in no way corresponded to the set views on the Russian people's psychological makeup. Entire villages gave a pledge, and not a glass was drunk! The struggle for sobriety was conducted with the methods which were inherent in the system in which those peasants were condemned to live: There were 25 lashes for anyone who violated the village community's decision. Artisans--joiners and cobblers--introduced their own sanctions: They imposed fines twice, and the third time they took away the title of tradesman.

The district police officers traveled around the villages, they tried to persuade the peasants, demanded that they renounce the pledge, and sometimes even put their fists into action, but it did not help. The tax farmers lowered the price of vodka and laid out free pails of 40-percent vodka, with no result. Hundreds of thousands of "incorrigible drunkards" in 32 Russian provinces renounced raw vodka and moreover in May 1859 started a mass destruction of drinking establishments.

It is clear that the "ethnographic argument" of the inevitability of Russian drunkenness did not work. The state machinery of serf-owning Russia did, however, work efficiently. The "sobriety movement" was suppressed by troops. That is how social-historical conditions were formed.

In forming a new type of individual and demanding from everyone initiative, a sense for novelty and the courage and readiness to assume responsibility, the social-historical conditions of socialism presupposes one more quality--sobriety--as being organically inherent in man.

For many years our attitude to drunkenness and alcoholism was that of an uncaring owner to the weeds in his fields. The passion for spirits has long been counted a vestige of the past in our country, and it is customary to fight against vestiges by educational methods starting with the mass pledges of Komsomol girls not to kiss boys who drank in the 1920s right up to the contemporary lectures on the benefit of sobriety.

Educational methods are of course necessary, especially in the period when the personality is formed, in childhood and youth. The family and the school must be the first and most active educators of a sober way of life. Alas, in this case and up until Todaygn Marx's warning "that the educator must himself be educated" has sounded all too topical (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 3, p 2).

In contemporary conditions life persistently demands that educational measures be supplemented by a broad ideological offensive on drunkenness and alcoholism. It is precisely in the sphere of the struggle for universal sobriety that, perhaps to a greater extent than anywhere else, the shortcomings in ideological work which were noted by the April CPSU Central

Committee plenum have been manifest: formalism and didacticism, and a divergence between word and deed.

In the years of Soviet power the moral-political unity of all social strata of society, which has become the basis of socialist social awareness, has arisen and become established. However, a certain contradictoriness of moral awareness continues to exist today. To be specific, it is manifested in some people as an inconsistent, or to be more precise, an unprincipled evaluation of such a social phenomenon as drunkenness and alcoholism. And this has been aggravated by a certain carelessness on the part of the mass information media in propagandizing sobriety as a most important quality of socialist personality.

What is involved today is a social phenomenon which lives parasitically on our difficulties, shortcomings and errors. This means it is necessary to fight against it with organizational and administrative-legal methods, as well as in all other ways, to fight in a consistent and planned manner, adhering strictly to the adopted laws on the struggle against drunkenness and home distilling.

Alcoholism and drunkenness are breaking our forward movement and are not allowing the advantages of socialism to develop. This means that they contradict the party's program directives, that is precisely how they must be viewed by every party organization and every labor collective.

Particular attention must be paid to youth. The education of young men and women in anti-alcoholism is one of the Komsomol's primary tasks. It is necessary that youth be resolutely protected from the still current social evil for the sake of the health of the future.

Perfecting the Komsomol party leadership and increasing its role in communist education must be concretely expressed in the growth of the responsibility of party organizations and of each communist for the moral makeup of the young and of those who live or work near him.

In order for sobriety to become the general norm and for it to acquire the force of habit for each and everyone, a stubborn, uncompromising and harsh struggle, well-argued explanations and multifaceted educational measures will be required, that is, time will be required. But sobriety must become an all-party norm right now. It is the duty of every communist and every leader to display a personal example of the active struggle against drunkenness and of the struggle to eradicate home distilling everywhere. The party itself is making higher demands on communists for rigorous observance of the planned measures to overcome drunkenness and alcoholism.

A communist who drinks, a leader who drinks, is a social hypocrite.

A communist who drinks, a leader who drinks, is an instance of social pathology.

A leader who campaigns for sobriety and who pronounces fine words on the harm of spirits while drinking them himself and closing his eyes to drinking in the collective, undermines the party's authority. The attitude to such leaders

and to such communists must be clear-cut in the Leninist manner: "...To strive for party-mindedness to be not just in word, but in deed, and to keep the strictest watch over this" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 19, p 110).

If the principle is translated into the language of concrete practice, then it means: to remove such leaders from the post which they occupy, and to make communists subject to strict party responsibility, up to exclusion from the ranks of the CPSU.

In both the central and local press a considerable number of reports have already appeared on how the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee is being fulfilled. Many former leaders have been transferred to rank-and-file work. And this is not a campaign which has started and will end, it is an inseparable part of the party's principled course toward the acceleration of socioeconomic progress in every way possible, and is an indispensable condition for the achievement of a new qualitative state of society.

The party, which in 1917 assumed responsibility for the destiny of the country and the destiny of the people, and which became the nucleus of our society's political system, today regards overcoming drunkenness and alcoholism as a social task of great political importance.

"Today we have developed a struggle against such a dangerous and fairly ingrained social evil as drunkenness and alcoholism," a meeting of the aktiv of the Leningrad party organization noted. "This is a partywide, nationwide, statewide task. We are realists and we will understand that we are faced with a long struggle here. Success will be achieved only if all of us apply ourselves to this work and we conduct it unremittingly and resolutely, without making any compromises."

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SPORTS AS A FACTOR IN A HEALTHY WAY OF LIFE

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[Article by Professor V. Balsevich, doctor of biological sciences]

[Text] Providing conditions for improving the health of every Soviet person and, consequently, of the entire people, is the most important practical task of our society, closely related to its efforts in the other main areas of communist construction. The distinguishing feature of contemporary views on human health is the understanding of the need for its conscious strengthening and advancement. Such concepts are based on the achievements of contemporary biology which substantiated the possibility of actively developing the capabilities of the organism on the basis of its natural adaptation mechanisms, inherent in its very nature, and opposing the adverse influence of the environment and changes created by aging.

Scientific and technical progress and radical changes in the rhythm of life of contemporary man and a substantial reduction in the share of physical labor in daily life aggravated contradictions between significant intellectual, emotional and sociological work stress, on the one hand, and a drastic lowering of physical activeness, as the main regulator of the condition and functions of the human organism, on the other. Life proved that even the most outstanding accomplishments of contemporary medicine cannot have an essential influence on preventing the process of physical degradation of the person, unless the person himself makes an active effort to maintain his physical capabilities on the proper level. The widespread view for the need for environmental protection, we believe, should be expanded with the call to preserve the "nature" of man. It is already clear that to this effect the purely biological resources, genetically predetermined by the "stock of strength" are insufficient. The overwhelming majority of scientists throughout the world consider constant and regular physical activity a most important factor in developing and strengthening internal human resources and preserving and improving the natural and most finely tuned mechanism which controls its activities. That is why the socially determined need for the purposeful improvement of human health becomes one of the forms of cultural requirements of the people, determining their aspiration to physical perfection as one of the most important elements of a healthy way of life.

The vital need for the development of most energetic efforts to shape a healthy way of life for the Soviet person and the utilization of all possibilities of upgrading his health standards was emphasized at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and in the course of the extensive discussion of its materials. What possibilities do we have for developing in every person a responsible attitude toward his health and a deep understanding of the need to maintain and steadily to improve the level of his physical culture? What are the problems which face our society in the implementation of such tasks? What hinders and what could help the further enhancement of the quality of physical culture? We shall try to answer these questions, laying no claim to total comprehensiveness of our views.

There are at least three areas of organized physical education and implementation of human physical activities through sports: exercise and sports in the area of mass physical culture; intensive sports training with a view to superior accomplishments; and physical education of children in preschool institutions, students in general education and professional schools, VUZ and technicum students and military personnel and military academy students. The physical education of the child in the family is a quite important although insufficiently studied and socially organized area.

These areas are closely interrelated and, combined, account for the existing physical education system. The progressive nature of the Soviet physical education system was based from the start on the mass nature of sports and the democratic and truly scientific approach to laying the foundations of their methods and organization. It is no accident that progressive contemporary world practices in physical education are largely based on our experience.

Thanks to the development of a mass physical culture movement in our country, the number of people engaged in physical culture and sports increased steadily; the health of young people strengthened and their physical hardening improved. Mass involvement with sports largely determined the successes achieved by Soviet sportsmen in the international arena in postwar decades. The essential target of the movement for physical culture and sports--physical hardening of the youth and, on this basis, improved sports achievements--was of substantial importance.

The 23 September 1929 VKP(b) Central Committee decree "On the Physical Culture Movement" played a tremendous mobilizing role in developing the physical culture and sports movement in our country. The decree pointed out that the main shortcomings in this area were its poor popularity among the broad masses of the working class, the tendency to set records, departmental discoordination and duplication in the physical culture movement. The implementation of the basic stipulations and conclusions of this party document in physical culture and sports determined, for many years ahead, its nature and trends and, above all, the fruitfulness of the results achieved in the physical education of young people of three generations. The powerful ideological charge provided by the decree greatly contributed to the development of the lofty moral ideals of Soviet sports, the development of civic maturity and the understanding of the need for physical training.

However, in the course of time increasing emphasis in the activities of sports organizations was put on the purely sports aspect of physical education. The formulas "from mass participation to sports mastery" and "from GTO [Ready for Labor and Defense] badge to Olympic medals" were interpreted too superficially and one-sidedly. Hasty criteria in assessing the quality of sports work encouraged, on the one hand, pursuit after increasing the number of GTO badge wearers and grade sportsmen and, on the other, the accelerated training of sportsmen with systems for which they were not always ready. This led to the appearance of a certain contradiction between the objectives of the mass physical culture movement and the physical education of youth as a whole and the organization of its physical training.

To a certain extent, the harmony of interaction between mass sports and high sporting accomplishments, which presumed the development of physically strong, able-bodied, industrious and simply healthy boys and girls, the physically most gifted among whom could become a reserve for our Olympic teams, became somewhat disturbed. At the same time, high accomplishments had an adverse effect on the development of the mass nature and on upgrading the quality of physical education through the popularization of knowledge in the area of physical culture and on the theory and methods of physical training.

The imperfection of so-called standard foundations for the assessment of physical education, according to which the number of people engaged in sports and the results of physical exercise were the determining criteria, led to the fact that many of our sports educators, instructors and coaches lost interest in the main objective of their activities: training physically healthy people, collected, purposeful and mentally and physically able-bodied, people who could efficiently act under difficult situations and react to any situational change quickly and adequately. In order to obtain the planned number of "badge bearers" or "competition participants," no long and painstaking work was needed on upgrading their physical training; in order to achieve high sports results there was no need (or possibility) to waste time on the "average" mass. It was much simpler to remove them from the sports sections as unpromising and to put together a group of great sportsmen and, even better, to become the private coach of a hopeful ascending sports star. Briefly stated, the state of health was no longer the actual indicator of work in physical culture.

The result was a weakening of the very foundations for higher sports accomplishments, i.e., the availability of a large number of physically healthy and strong boys and girls, who are the actual area from which the future Olympic athletes are drawn. Furthermore, this prevented the solution of a number of problems of physical education, above all that of strengthening the health and ensuring the physical advancement of children and youngsters. The latter has been a subject of particular concern on the part of our society and of anyone who is not indifferent to such cost to education. This was discussed with great concern by Comrade D. N. Bondarenko at the CPSU Central Committee meeting with Great Patriotic War veterans, last May: "...Some young people enter the army insufficiently prepared, physically in particular. In sports societies, meanwhile, frequently the main attention is focused not on mass physical culture but on individual promising athletes. I think that this is wrong."

The following facts and figures confirm the specific losses suffered in this area. For example, according to the Omsk State Physical Culture Institute, the norm for the GTC complex for the fourth grade of the best schools in a large industrial center such as Omsk could be fulfilled by no more than 15 percent of students, and no more than 4 percent in the worst schools. In terms of physical ability to work, indicators (referring to physical culture data) of adolescents and young people yield to their coevals in Czechoslovakia. The number of cases of cardiovascular and rheumatic disease and chronic tonsillitis is increasing. All of this is the direct consequence of poorly organized physical training and hardening of children.

At the same time, the public cannot but be concerned with the failures of our athletes in the international sports arena. It is hard to explain the reasons for the frequent losses to teams from small countries which, naturally, have lesser opportunities to select competitors, by representatives of a country with a population of more than 270 million. It is not even a question of selection but of the practice of training athletes.

The actual and legitimate current incentives for coaching directly influence the methods used in the sports training of children, adolescents and young people. This method is distinguished by its noticeable emphasis on narrow specialization. The insistent recommendations of scientists and understanding of the importance of general physical training of young people in order to set high sports records in the future do not protect many coaches from the temptation of urging students to achieve results, for it is precisely on this basis that "returns" from the pedagogical and educational activities of coaches are assessed. The laboratory of the Omsk Physical Culture Institute studied several participants in the finals of the All-Union Spartakiad of Secondary School Students, who are considered the embodiment of the best of our youth sports. What were the conclusions? Most serious gaps in sports-technical training were revealed in the majority of these 15-16-year-old youngsters; furthermore, one out of three showed very unpleasant deviations from health standards. Not one of those studied attained a rating, whether junior or adult. The concern of team coaches and coaches of future Olympic athletes, therefore, is understandable: without receiving proper reinforcements, they are forced to correct in their pupils the errors in elementary training systems and undertake to heal old traumas when their pupils have already reached the stage of high athletic skills.

In order properly to assess the true efficiency of physical education and sports training, it is important to realize that record setting should not be self-seeking but the result of many years of painstaking work and merely the reflection of legitimately attained positive changes in the physical and psychological condition of the athlete and the natural manifestation of new possibilities of the athlete's body and personality, revealed in the course of his training. The way to true sports results should be the true one. Neglect of this pedagogically and ethically important concept may twist the attitude toward sports and turn them into an exhausting pursuit of points, grades, meters and seconds, at a high moral cost. Unquestionably, sports, the struggle, the competition and the desire to win are indivisible concepts. Victory at any cost, however, is always pyrrhic and its eventual result most

frequently is a loss in the main feature: molding the personality of the sportsman.

Our public has long been concerned with the dirty machinations of some pseudosport "personalities" who, rather than train worthy replacements lure capable athletes from other teams, republics or cities. We cannot forgive their rudeness on soccer fields, dishonest refereeing, and replacing the nobility of true sportsmen with all kinds of clever tricks using substitute players and clever manipulation of competition rules and principles of athletic training.

We must note, for the sake of fairness, that the standard of the attitude of the public itself toward sports and athletes is not always on the necessary level in our country. This applies not only to the monotony of fan sympathies. Let us agree that a morality alien to us could penetrate in our midst not only through radio channels or foreign movies but also by distorting our basic moral and ethical principles in the sports area, to suit current and sometimes farfetched needs ("as an exception" for individual "particularly talented" people).

Leaving the other aspects of this problem aside, let us consider the so-called "patronage." Unquestionably, concern by big economic managers for the development of sports in their enterprise, kolkhoz, institute, etc., is exceptionally important and necessary. Many outstanding examples may be cited in our country on how one can and must organize sports and physical culture at an enterprise. For example, A. D. Bogomolov, director of the Kurgan Machine-Building Plant imeni V. I. Lenin, is most directly concerned with providing all the necessary conditions for the development of physical culture and sports at the plant and at the workers' homes. The enterprise is extensively building and updating sporting equipment. Briefly stated, it is a question not of a formal but of a truly creative attitude toward improving sports and physical culture and health restoration. A creative attitude toward the organization of such work implies above all comprehensiveness and scientific and economic substantiation. Unfortunately, however, by no means does everyone realize what it truly means to create conditions for the fruitful development of physical culture and sports in a collective. The idea frequently invested in this concept is to ensure the athletes or the team all possible advantages. In fact, the creation of conditions for efficient and true rather than fictitious sports training is a difficult and extraordinarily complex matter. It is much easier to put the "needed athletes in the hothouse atmosphere of total moral permissiveness and to encourage material consumerism. However, could such tactics "stimulate" athletic achievements and yield necessary results? Unquestionably, no. Losses frequently turn out to be greater than accomplishments.

Furthermore, contrary to established public opinion, we should admit that our Olympic athletes, in training for important international events, do not always have at their disposal the necessary set of conditions for efficient training. The truly amazing paradox is that, while sparing no funds for purchasing extremely expensive imported sports equipment and facilities, we are frequently unable to provide acceptable living and hygienic conditions for

the members of combined teams in training. We spend a great deal of money on numerous and not always justified traveling by athletes around the country.

Meanwhile, the standard of physical requirements at the stage of higher athletic skills is so high that protecting the health of the members of the athletic "elite" is already becoming a real problem. Exaggerated specialization of adaptability reactions of the body to the training load leads to the fact that athletes who can withstand extreme stress of specific nature sometimes find themselves helpless even in the face of a light draft or a cold, which interrupt their training immediately and frequently. We have still not truly resolved problems of the balanced diet of athletes or organized a system of health recovery measures; problems of stimulating athletic work, prevention of traumas, and efficient control over sports-technical, physiological and psychological parameters in athletic training are being resolved unsatisfactorily. Major improvements must be made in ideological education with athletes, for typical of a number of combined teams is the lack of coordination among their members and the cellular method of athletes' training.

Practical experience in work with combined teams proves that most of the coaches and the team members are truly dedicated to sports. They are great workers and true patriots with great civic responsibility for the cause they serve. However, even among such circles there are unprincipled people, who parasitize on the interested attention which our society pays to sports. Such sports "managers" are not particularly concerned with the creation of truly necessary conditions for training superior-grade athletes. Athletes and members of combined teams trained by such "tutors" do not bother to train hard. They do not plunge into the battle risking possible difficulties, but quietly reach the semifinals with the main objective of remaining members of the combined team longer. The tremendous moral harm which this causes to the education of young people and the way this destroys the type of moral climate within the collective, beneficial to the work, are self-evident.

The objective and subjective difficulties we noted in solving problems of physical education and sports training of young people have long concerned specialists and the public. The task is to select the best of the acquired experience, critically to evaluate some trends in the development of the concepts on the process of the physical advancement of man and make thoroughly weighed decisions on means of radically improving the entire development of physical culture.

In our view, the integration of all elements of our nationwide physical education system on a new basis is the key to resolving many of the problems raised here. The single objective of strengthening the health and encouraging the physical perfection of the people could and should become such an integrating factor. In this connection, the concept of developing a mass physical culture movement assumes a qualitatively new content and means the need to involve every Soviet person in regular albeit different forms of physical activities.

Unquestionably, it is above all in the area of the education of the growing generation that the decisive step to upgrading the level of the people's

physical standards should be made. In this respect, our school reform, which is currently underway, contains a tremendous sociomoral potential. As was emphasized at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the importance of the reform to the teacher of the country would be difficult to overestimate. In this connection, the party demands of all of us "not a formal but a meaningful approach to the tasks and radical improvements in the quality of training and raising the growing generations and preparing them for socially useful labor." All of this fully applies to those on whom the program for the physical education of the youth depends.

In accordance with the basic directions of the reform, the main burden in organizing the physical education of children, adolescents and young people falls, on the one hand, on the general education and vocational schools and, on the other, on the sports courses for children and adolescents, of different types and with different departmental affiliations. What is demanded of us is the implementation of systematic measures aimed at developing a new type of relations between these two institutions which ensure the physical education of secondary school students.

Above all, the reform directs clearly and unequivocally not only the general education but the sports school to attaining strategic and socially important objectives in the physical education of the growing generation: high-level health and mental and physical ability of the students, preparing them for highly productive toil and efficient military service and developing proper skills and stable needs for physical hardening and systematic training.

A great deal can be accomplished in this respect by the secondary school. The most realistic action would be to energize physical culture-health recovery work in the school in such a way that physical culture lessons taught as part of the curriculum are supplemented by a system of homework, physical culture breaks during lessons, calisthenics during recess and mass Saturday and Sunday projects with the mandatory participation of all students. The increased length of training in education VUZes, stipulated by the school reform, will enable us to draft new curriculums consistent with the number of school hours needed to cover a course in theory and method of cultural-sanitary work in the school in such a way as to involve professionally the entire staff of the school, the PTU [vocational-technical school] and the technicum.

Advancing the process of physical education of the students will require major changes in both method and organization. Correcting features, such as converting from the concept of "pure" "explanatory" instruction to that of training, combined with instruction and emphasizing the development of the endurance of children, adolescents and the young people will become essential. It is a question of emphasizing training precisely in school physical culture and sports rather than simply explaining to the students how one could and should engage in sports.

As indicated by studies, the 7-10-year-old age group is the most suitable for instilling in the child virtually the entire range of physical qualities and coordination capabilities applied in human motor activities. Unless this is accomplished, the time for shaping the physical and physiological foundations of the future health potential would be lost, for all of our subsequent steps

in that direction would become illogical and conflicting with the laws governing the development of human motor activities. It is during that age span that the children begin to develop an interest in and inclination for specific types of physical activities and a predisposition for a given sport. This creates conditions for the successful physical culture-sports orientation of secondary school students and establishing for each one of them the optimal way leading to physical advancement.

Contrary to the widespread notion of sports selection, in the course of which the most gifted children are selected for training in specific sports, the nature of the methodology of physical culture-sports orientation is to choose for every child, adolescent and young man and woman a suitable type of physical activity. To some this will be a specific sport; to others, generally developing physical exercise; to others again, intensive training aimed at realizing a sports talent on a higher, Olympic level. Consequently, it is a question not of the coach's "selection" of children "suitable" for the type of sport in which he is interested but the selection of the type of sport which would be suitable for the given child.

Children and adolescent sports schools are assigned a special role in connection with the new tasks relative to the system of the physical education of secondary school students.

In our view, it would be expedient to reorganize all currently operating sports schools of different types and purposes, regardless of departmental affiliation, into three types of sports schools for children and adolescents: 1) primary sports training; 2) mass sports practicing; 3) training sports reserves.

The purpose of the basic sports training school for children between the ages of 7 and 11 is to resolve the key problem of their physical education: accustoming them to systematic physical training. The essential distinction between this type of sports school and all other current schools is the lack of a program aimed at any kind of sports specialization. The pivot of the concept of basic sports training is the principle of comprehensive development and advancement of all parameters of the child's physical health and its comprehensive physical and psychological training. This enabled the child to prepare itself physically and psychologically for further systematic practice of physical culture and sports on the basis of comprehensive physical training and the practice of numerous sports. This principle enables the student to "test" himself in a number of types and forms of physical activity and helps him to make the correct decision concerning his further physical culture or sports orientation.

The second type school--mass sports practices--includes training of the bulk of the students from the sixth through the 11th grades and students in vocational schools. The young athletes should not practice more than three times weekly, not including participation in mass competitions, the scheduling and structure of which should contribute to reaching a high emotional and aesthetic level of sporting. The extensive involvement of video equipment, simulators and instruction materials and the thorough development of standard class room programs would enable us to increase the size of training groups to

30-35 people. Unquestionably, this would significantly reduce the severity of the problem of the shortage of coaches, increase the use of sporting equipment and contribute to involving in sports a large number of students in general education and vocational schools. The accuracy of this approach is confirmed by actual foreign experience in physical education, in which a single instructor successfully coaches as many as 100 athletes. Anyone could enroll in such sports schools, regardless of results and possibilities. The work of the coach should be rated on the basis of the steady number of students and their improved health and physical training standards.

In order to achieve the objectives of mass sports, three training sessions per week are entirely adequate. Let us recall our outstanding sportsmen of the prewar generation and heroes of the Great Patriotic War--swimmer L. Meshkov and boxer N. Korolev, track athletes brothers Georgiy and Serafim Znamenskikh, wrestlers G. Pylnov and champion GTO-bearer A. Pokryshkin and skier N. Budarin. Let us recall the exploits of the special-purpose ski battalions, the Lesgaftov and the students of the State Central Order of Lenin Physical Culture Institute. These sportsmen could not spend a lot of time training because of their main job or studies. However, this did not prevent them from being physically strong, enduring and hardened. The physical, moral and willpower training of the sportsmen of that generation honorably passed the harsh test during the war.

A third special type of sports schools for children and adolescents is needed in training high performance sports reserves. Its distinguishing feature must be the relatively small number of students, which would include children, adolescents and young people truly gifted in the sports. Guiding pupils in such schools is a difficult and extremely responsible task. The difficulty lies in the need to surmount a contradiction which, albeit purely external, is rather complex from the ethical point of view. On the one hand, we cannot forbid a child to engage in the type of sports it likes and thus would strive to attain Olympic levels; on the other, we have no right to allow it to risk its health, which would be inevitable if it lacks the necessary gifts and capabilities. Nor should we remain indifferent toward the useless waste of valuable time which the adolescents could use much more rewardingly for themselves personally and for society at large in other areas of activity.

We believe that such differentiation among types of sports schools would enable every secondary school and PTU student to engage in any type of sport and to formulate, on a humane and sensible basis, and to train on various levels of intensive sports training.

In our view, the most accurate and justified balance of the ratio between students enrolled in the mass sports schools and schools for training sports reserves would be one in which the number of students engaged in mass health promotion sports would be maximal and sports aimed at higher accomplishments, optimal, based on "high-level sports" tasks.

Training high-level sportsmen must end at joint junior and adult teams on all-union, republic and departmental levels. This system should include only promising athletes and neither efforts nor funds should be spared to provide the best possible training conditions for improving their accomplishments.

Paying attention to higher sports accomplishments does not conflict in the least with the nationwide task of developing mass physical culture. Underestimating the significance of "high-level sports" in the physical education system would be a grave error. This area of physical culture and sports performs an important and responsible function not only in terms of the cultural life of the people but also in the struggle for peace, strengthening friendship among the peoples and international cooperation. Soviet international-level sportsmen take to the people of the most remote corners of the earth the truth of our country and the socialist way of life. Each one of their sports victories becomes a confirmation of the high cultural standards of the Soviet people and their ability to be on the cutting edge in all realms of life. Nor should we ignore the very important role of high-level sports in learning about the physical and psychological possibilities of the person and unraveling the secrets of the functioning of his body under extreme situations triggered by tremendous physical and emotional stress. In addition to their major cultural and propaganda role, "high-level sports" have been and remain an important instrument in youth patriotic upbringing.

We must ensure the fullest possible use of the tremendous potential of high-level sports in terms of the further enrichment and blossoming of our nationwide physical culture.

In this article we have deliberately focused on the key problems of physical education, the development of physical culture and the sports training of children and young people. Naturally, however, this does not mean that we should not be concerned with improving the physical culture and sports movement among adults working in industry and agriculture, military personnel, the elderly, etc. A topical problem is that of organizing sports activities and physical culture collectives at places of residence, in cultural-sports complexes and areas of recreation. The problem of physical training of predrafterees is grave. Particular attention should be paid to the development of sports among women. Many new problems are raised by the trend which has appeared of engaging in individual and so-called small-group individual health promoting sports. The new popular forms of physical activity must be seriously studied. It would be impossible within a single article to cover the comprehensive problem of organizing the physical activeness of all categories of the country's population. Nevertheless, substantial reasons exist for paying particularly close attention to the physical education of children and youngsters in particular.

Long studies of the basic laws of the development of motor activities of people with age has convincingly proved that man's physical potential, the "store of energy" which he will be using throughout his life is formed during the first 20 years of his life. The better organized physical education is during that period, the higher the level of physical preparedness of the adult will be, the stronger will he become physically and the greater will be his ability to adapt to rapidly changing or monotonous job conditions, adverse environmental influences, mental, physical and psychological stress, etc.

The moral aspect of physical education and developing the personality and the character of the person and laying the foundations for a healthy way of life

are particularly important in raising the future highly conscious citizen and soldier.

Let us emphasize the tremendous role which physical education plays in uprooting the evil of drunkenness and alcoholism. Systematic efforts and high physical and spiritual standards develop the type of moral tuning in which the use of alcohol becomes truly unnatural and "physically" unacceptable. The material base for such a personality feature is, as studies have indicated, the particular physiological condition of the body of a person leading a health way of life filled with constant physical activeness. The systematic practice of physical culture shapes a special type of physiological reactions to various types of stress, regulating biochemical processes in the body in which counteraction to external stress, including psychological, proves to be most adequate. On the other hand, a customary way of life develops in the course of which physical activeness is not only realized as a necessity but also felt as a need, which is particularly important, and in which its temporary absence, for any reason whatsoever, causes a feeling of discomfort, a type of "protest" of the body which imperatively demands its dose of movement. That is why no drinking people are found among those who are always engaged in physical exercises and no people actively concerned with the level of their physical standards are found among alcoholics.

Insufficient physical activity in childhood and, as a consequence of a low standard, an inadequate attitude toward one's health and motor activities in adolescence have a particularly deleterious effect on young women--future mothers--and, above all, on their children. Unfortunately, so far few other than narrow specialists are aware of the fact that the many miscarriages and cases of giving birth to children with various defects are related to the physical unpreparedness of the mother to give birth. Such deviations are frequently, and, incidentally, not always accurately, explained by citing genetic factors to which all difficulties are ascribed. It is forgotten in this case that, in the biological sense, for a very long period of interaction with its environment, the fetus is inseparably tied to the mother's organism and that the condition of the latter largely determines the condition of the still unborn person. Therefore, the physical education of girls and the purposeful organization of their physical activities are, unquestionably, of tremendous importance in terms of the health of future generations. Underestimating this fact would be an error.

Instruction and educational activities in this area are major trends in upgrading the standards of physical culture and the effectiveness of physical education. Our schools must do a particularly great deal in this respect. It is precisely here that the necessary amount of knowledge is gained on the nature of physical activities, training methods and laws governing the development of motion. Such knowledge and habits acquired in childhood and adolescence could become the foundations for the adult who will knowledgeably control his physical activities and maintain a proper level of health, work ability and good spirits. Physical culture training should be related more closely with school courses in basic hygiene, anatomy and physiology.

However, this does not cover the entire social significance of efficient physical education in childhood and adolescence. Durable motivations for

physical advancement and upbringing, starting with childhood, can develop into a system of universally accepted concepts and behavioral standards which determine the social prestigiousness of great good health and physical training and an essential criterion in assessing the "quality" of the person's entire personality; they become organically interwoven within the process of shaping the physical standards of the people. It is precisely this that is the content of the concept of "physical culture," considered in its most general philosophical meaning.

Studies of possible ways of improving physical education and upgrading the standards of physical culture as a whole prove the need to seek new control levers in all physical culture and sports activities.

In our view, it is quite important today to concentrate on perfecting the foundations of physical training and developing criteria in assessing the efficiency of the work at all levels of the physical culture and sports movements and physical education. Above all, we must substantiate standards for physical and sports training which would include the possibility of evaluating successes in achieving their main objective: very good health, ability to work, growth of physical and motor potential and advancement in the sports.

Establishing mandatory minimums for various forms of organized physical activities by the people, differentiated by age and sex, could develop as a promising trend in perfecting programmatic requirements in physical education. Such standards could include the sum total of kilometers covered in jogging for endurance, covered by a fifth-grader in one year, rather than merely the recorded results of a 3,000-meter run. In this sense, we can speak of a minimally mandatory volume of physical stress in the weekly or monthly cycles of physical exercise.

Resolving the problem of physical activeness standards is a mandatory prerequisite in establishing a system of state control over the standard of physical preparedness of the various population categories in the country. Such a system would not only enable us to urge on in the necessary direction the development of mass physical culture and sports and to advance the physical education of children and young people but could also become an effective means of quick reaction to "bottlenecks" which appear in physical education and the physical culture and sports training of some population strata in various parts of the country. The sooner we reach the conclusion that the main end result of effective work in physical culture, regardless of the form it takes, such as the level of health of the people and their high aptitude for work, the sooner the indicators of activity of the various organizations which must resolve this problem will be assessed on the basis of end results--the level of health and work capacity of people engaged in physical culture and sports. This approach will enable us to assess returns per ruble invested in physical culture and sports and strictly take to task those who show no concern for upgrading the health of the people.

Possibilities of developing a system of state control of the physical preparedness of the population are better than ever before. A great deal could be accomplished by the system of comprehensive medical outpatient

treatment of the population, which will be developed in the immediate future. The physician, who determines the objective level of a person's health should become one of the "chief umpires" in assessing the efficiency of the activities of sports organizations.

The task is to mount a broad offensive along the main trends in the development of our physical culture and to achieve a real upsurge in the popularization of physical culture and sports, radical improvements in the physical education of children and young people and strengthening the prestige of Soviet sports in the international arena.

The materials of the April Central Committee Plenum and the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Measures To Improve the Use of Club Establishments and Sports Installations" and other recent party documents and the persistent harnessing of all resources for achieving qualitatively new and essential changes in practical activities aimed at strengthening the health of the Soviet people and shaping a new attitude toward the question of leading a healthy way of life provide a powerful impetus in the search for new ways for the implementation of such highly humane and noble objectives. Perfecting the way of life of the Soviet person and, on this basis, upgrading the health resources of the people are considered the most important sociopolitical and socioeconomic task of socialist society at the present stage in its development and on a long-range basis.

The ever-broadening functions of physical culture as one of the most important vectors of a healthy way of life persistently call for radical, large-scale and largely new decisions and energetic and efficient practical actions.

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TO STEADFASTLY STRENGTHEN LAW AND ORDER

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[Article by V. Fedorchuk, USSR minister of internal affairs]

[Text] The party's course of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development is expected to ensure the achievement of a new qualitative state of our society, of its economy, and of social and spiritual life in the shortest possible time. This course is indissolubly connected with persistent implementation of the principle of social justice which is inherent in socialism, and with the strengthening of discipline, order, and organization in every possible. The April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum particularly stressed that strengthening order and discipline is "an urgent demand of the day which Soviet people understand in a broad sense, including order in production and in the service sphere, in social and everyday life, in every work cell, in every town and in every village."

Law and order and legality, which rest on the political, economic and social achievements of the new system, on a high level of ideological awareness and morality and the civic responsibility of working people, on their intolerance of antisocial manifestations, and on the standard and purity of human relations reflect the essence of the socialist, Soviet way of life. The implacable struggle against violations of the law and their prevention are an all-party, all-state and nationwide task. Particular responsibility for strengthening law and order rest with the organs of internal affairs, the procurators' offices, the court and the judiciary.

In a resolution adopted on 3 July 1985, the USSR Supreme Soviet demanded of the law and order organs that they act persistently and resolutely to further strengthen legality and law and order, that in conjunction with other state and social organs, and with the active cooperation of the soviets of people's deputies, they steadily put the Leninist principles of socialist legality into practice, and that they persistently strive to strengthen order and increase discipline everywhere.

In the society of victorious socialism, the socioeconomic roots of crime--the class antagonisms engendered by private ownership, the exploitation of man by man, and the unemployment, poverty and hardships of working people--have been

extirpated. The practice of communist construction conditions the trend toward a decrease and change in the nature of crime. Banditry and crimes with motives of racial and national enmity have long since disappeared in the USSR. Socialist reality is also completely free of such phenomena as the Mafia, gangsterism, and terrorism, which are typical of the bourgeois world. In our country the relative proportion of violent and serious crimes is steadily falling, and a shift to the sphere of the interpersonal relations of everyday life is characteristic of their motives.

Socialism signifies a fundamentally new quality of working people's life, the distinguishing feature of which is the spirit of collectivism, mutual assistance, moral health and social optimism. At the same time, it would be a dangerous oversimplification to suppose that the social ground which nurtures negative phenomena is already totally from our society at the present stage of maturity achieved by that society. Crime in all its forms, drunkenness, and parasitism are the antithesis of socialism. However, as the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum stressed, it would be wrong to explain such abnormal phenomena only as vestiges of the past and as the force of inertia. They also arise as a consequence of reasons connected with the complexities of economic development and with the shortcomings of organizational, economic and educational work. In steadily strengthening law and order, it is necessary to take constant account of the increased ideological and other efforts hostile to socialism of the most reactionary imperialist circles, efforts which are aimed at activating antisocial elements and reviving nationalist and other efforts which are aimed at activating antisocial elements and reviving nationalist and other prejudices and the psychology of private ownership, and at doing so at any cost.

Since antisocial and unlawful phenomena contradict the principles and norms of socialism and hinder the development of our society, the struggle against them must be implacable and uncompromising. Any indulgence is inadmissible. At present a considerable proportion of crimes are selfish infringements relating to property, while serious crimes against life and limb just exceed 4 percent of the total number of crimes, the majority being committed from motives connected with everyday life. Hooliganism makes up 10 percent of the total number, 6 percent are connected with violations of the traffic safety rules, and the proportion of crimes of carelessness is rising.

Crime, like all forms of law violation, is always the result of a certain ideological and moral-political deformity of the personality, its interests and needs, its behavioral patterns and its motives for action. However great the results of the research work done in this field in recent years, Soviet criminologists, sociologists and psychologists are still faced with doing a considerable amount for thorough study of the entire aggregate reasons and conditions for the formation of criminal behavior. The main point, however, is to scientifically substantiate the choice of the most effective law and order measures, methods of preventing violations of the law and of creating an atmosphere of irreconcilability to them, and ways of eliminating those flaws and blunders in educational, economic and accounting-control work which contribute to the preservation or even the revival of antisocial aspirations. In order to prevent and overcome negative phenomena, and in order to reduce and later eradicate crime, the question of the nature and character of

contradictions under socialism, of the aspects and features of them which give rise to crime and of ways, methods and means of resolving them is of key methodological importance.

In fulfilling the demands of the November 1982 and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums for a fundamental improvement of law and order activity, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and its local organs have implemented a number of practical measures aimed at consolidating everyday practical links with the public and the labor collectives, at eliminating errors in cadre policy, and at perfecting the style and increasing the effectiveness of operational duty work to prevent crimes and to uncover and investigate them in good time and in a full manner.

Thanks to the attention and exacting care of party and soviet organs, the cadres of all sections of the internal affairs organs have been considerably strengthened. Around 55,000 communists have been selected for service in the militia by party organizations in the last 2 years, and the party nucleus among personnel has grown. Labor collectives directed thousands of front-rank workers into the MVD organs. The political organs of the MVD system which have been created are intensifying the education of personnel and the political ensuring of duty tasks.

The Main Administration of Criminal Investigation and the Main Administration for Combatting the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation, the investigation apparatus and also the district militia inspector and patrol-point duty services have been strengthened quantitatively and qualitatively. Paramount importance is attached to raising the level of cadres' professional training. The contingent of those studying in MVD educational institutions has been expanded, higher courses for workers in criminal investigation and the Main Administration for Combatting the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation have been opened, and educational centers of the MVD and the internal affairs administrations for the training of rank-and-file personnel have been created.

The criteria for party-political evaluation of cadres of the internal affairs organs were formed, as is known, as far back as in Lenin's time. We are bound to reverently preserve and augment the glorious traditions of Dzerzhinskiy's Cheka, the members of which were distinguished by communist conviction, moral purity, faithfulness to the law and to professional duty, a sharpened sense of justice, deep awareness of their responsibility for the fate of the revolution, political vigilance, responsiveness and sensitivity, faith in people, and skillful reliance on working people in their work.

Unfortunately, not all MVD employees are at the level of these high demands. And it is for this reason that it is so important to maintain unremitting control over the purity of the internal affairs organs' ranks. Decisive measures have recently been taken to get rid of those who violate discipline and legality, of indifferent and irresponsible workers who have embellished the state of the struggle against crime, and of course of those who have behaved in an immodest or unworthy fashion, or who have committed abuses for selfish or other reasons.

At present the MVD organs have at their disposal, on the whole, politically and professionally mature cadres who are capable of successfully solving complex and responsible tasks of further strengthening law and order and legality. Higher and secondary specialist education is possessed by 87 percent of leading personnel. Specialists holding diplomas make up 96 percent of the personnel in the service of the Main Administration Combatting the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation, 87 percent in the criminal investigation service and 77 percent of district inspectors. A higher education is possessed by 83 percent of investigators and 94 percent of ordinary policemen have secondary education. In the last 2 years, over 1,800 MVD workers were awarded orders and medals of the Soviet Union for the courage they had displayed and for their selfless fulfillment of their service duty. The election of 18,500 workers of the internal affairs organs to the soviets of people's deputies in 1985 was an expression of political trust in these organs.

The emphasis in organizational work is placed on providing concrete practical assistance to the basic--town and rayon--link of the internal affairs organs and to their subunits and services at the local level. The system of considering and examining statements and reports by citizens on crimes is being more precisely defined and most strictly controlled, in conjunction with the USSR Procuracy. A great role in improving the cooperation of MVD organs in the procurators' offices, the court and the judiciary belongs to the coordinating conferences of the law and order organs. The attention paid to law and order activity is shown by the fact that, of the more than 837,000 questions examined by, for example, the soviets of people's deputies in only 1983, over 62,000 were connected with organizational work to strengthen law and order and legality.

The measures taken by party, state, economic and law and order organs by the public and labor collectives in the struggle to strengthen discipline, organization and order, which were adopted by the initiative and under the leadership of the CPSU Central Committee and are actively supported by the working people, have produced tangible positive results. Social order in the towns and villages of the country has been strengthened. A decrease in crime has been noted in most union republics. In the current year, for example, the number of serious crimes, including murders, grievous bodily harm, and robbery with violence has fallen. Embezzlement has been more actively prevented and uncovered. Working people have sensed a real increase in the effectiveness and sharpness of the internal affairs organs' reaction to violations of the law.

However, the tasks of intensifying the struggle against violations of the law are still insufficiently effective. The internal affairs organs will have to do a considerable amount in order that social order fully corresponds to the high demands of developed socialism and so that there is an increase everywhere in the effectiveness of measures to prevent crimes, to uncover and investigate them in good time, and to ensure that punishment of the guilty is inevitable.

The principal task of all law and order activity in a socialist state is to prevent crime and not to let it be committed. The soviets of people's

deputies, the trade unions and the Komsomol, the economic and law and order organs, the labor collectives and also such voluntary social formations as the people's militia, councils for the prevention of violations of the law in enterprises, social centers for the maintenance of law and order in residential microrayons and comrades' courts, all combine their efforts, under the leadership of party organizations, in the work to prevent violations of the law.

There is every ground for speaking of the necessity of making wider and fuller use of the enormous disciplinary potential of our democratic institutions. In some places they are not working at full power and poorly ensure publicity for collective condemnation of those who violate the law. An atmosphere of intolerance toward antisocial phenomena has been created in far from every labor collective. And yet it is precisely the moral influence of the collective that always has been and still is the decisive force for strengthening discipline and order. A morally healthy collective is capable of putting anyone who violates the law in his place. It has to be admitted that many organs of internal affairs still place little reliance on the assistance and support of labor collectives and social organizations and provide little assistance to voluntary organizations in organizing preventive work and in ensuring a close interconnection between general and individual preventive measures.

The Collegium and Political Administration of the USSR MVD regard the activation of this preventative work as the main area of activity of all services and subunits and every worker of criminal investigations and the Main Administration for Combatting the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation, of the State Motor Vehicle Inspection Administration and of the Main Administrations for Interdepartmental Protection and Fire Protection. To this end, operational service means and methods have been determined both for preventing crimes by concrete individuals and for eliminating the reasons and conditions which contribute to these crimes being committed. Workers of the MVD organs have begun to participate more actively in the legal education of working people: in 2 years they have made 3.6 million appearances in labor collectives and in residential areas of the citizens.

The inevitability of the application of the law's sanctions against persons who, in spite of the preventive measures, commit unlawful acts, is of enormous general preventive importance. Also at the center of attention of the law and order organs are questions connected with perfecting the work to correct and reeducate those who have committed crimes. At the basis of this work lies the socialist humanism of the Soviet state's legal policy. Under the supervision of the procuracy offices and with the assistance of the public and the control commissions of executive committees of soviets, the correctional work institutions ensure that punishment of crimes is carried out in strict accordance with the law and implement a differentiated approach toward those who violate the law, an approach which consists in not allowing any indulgence of dangerous criminals and recidivists and in making skillful use of the educational effectiveness of punishments that involve no deprivation of freedom and also of measures of social influence on those who have committed crimes representing no great danger to society for the first time.

A particular place in the whole preventive work is occupied by the prevention of crimes by minors. Solving the problem of the "difficult" adolescent, a problem with which violations of the law by minors are largely connected, essentially amounts to timely prevention of the negative influence on them of an unhappy family or the drunkenness of parents and of the corrupting influence of some adult "authorities." It is necessary to further intensify the purposeful control by inspectorates for the affairs of minors and by the public over adolescents who are inclined toward violation of the law. It is important to bear in mind that a third of the children on the militia's records lack one parent. Meanwhile not all of them have patrons, instructors or social educators. And patronage itself is frequently of a formal nature. Students in vocational technical colleges, to whose lot falls one-third of the violations of the law committed by adolescents, require much attention.

It is extraordinarily important to involve skilled masters, the Komsomol aktiv of students and workers, pedagogues and sportsmen--people who are really enthusiastic themselves and who are thus capable of engaging adolescents in sport activity and in technical and other creativity--in work with children. There are enormous reserves for this. Only in the country's 202 pedagogical higher educational establishments there are 852,000 students studying, and in the 479 pedagogical colleges there are 423,000 people. Much is already being done and even more can be done to educate adolescents by the Dzerzhinskiy and Makarenko student detachments.

Such important social institutions as those of instructors, patronage and social educators should be even further strengthened. Collective and individual forms of instructing have, for example, been developed on a wide scale in Kemerovo Oblast. Young workers, including "difficult" adolescents, are under the patronage of 750 labor collectives and around 46,000 instructors here. More than 280 adolescents' clubs, in which over 30,000 children are engaged, conduct their work in places of residence.

Cultural-sports complexes, of which there are now more than 5,000 in the country, offer broad possibilities for organizing educational-preventive work. Interesting experience on such work has been accumulated in the Omsk, Tula, Gorkiy, Dnepropetrovsk and Penza oblasts and in Belorussia and Latvia. An instructive example is the Estonian Rana Sovkhoz, led by R. Martinson, where favorable conditions have been created for the pursuit of sport by the young. The number of violations of the law in the zone of such centers is also decreasing. In a number of places, however, stadiums, palaces of culture and sport, swimming pools, school halls, and playing fields are poorly used in work with the young and with adolescents. The CPSU Central Committee decision of the 12 June 1985 clearly defined the role of cultural and sports institutions in education, the organization of leisure and in overcoming antisocial manifestations. In connection with this it is to be desired that the implementation of the recently adopted model position on the cultural-sports complex is accelerated.

A negative effect on adolescents' behavior is caused by their not being engaged in useful tasks during the summer vacation days, although the possibility of involving children in feasible work exists virtually everywhere. In this connection it is impossible not to mention the great

educational significance of last summer's action of dispatching more than 30,000 "difficult" adolescents to work as members of student construction detachments.

Work with young people in dormitories, where over 9 million people live, needs to be more widely spread. It would seem to be expedient to have departments for work among youth within the structure of the executive committees of soviets. It is also important to increase the role of commissions for the affairs of minors in organizing and coordinating educational-preventive work in places of residence. Until now the activity of these commissions has been largely confined to taking administrative measures against those who violate the law.

A question of great political and socioeconomic significance is that of the intensification in every way possible of the struggle for the safety of socialist property and the creation of an atmosphere of intolerance toward such phenomena as the use of state social property for purposes of personal enrichment, speculation, bribe-taking and any kind of parasitism on the humanism of our system. Selfish crimes become possible in conditions and in an atmosphere of poor management, when state plan, production-technological, financial-accounting, and control discipline is weakened, the system of preserving values is violated and exactingness toward cadres is reduced. Moneygrubbers, bribe-takers, speculators and "pilferers" are primarily greedy for the ownerless kopeck.

The USSR MVD is increasing the aggressive activeness of the Main Administration for Combatting the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation, the activity of which has been reorganized with application to the branch structure of the national economy. Coordination of actions with all interested departments, the people's control and auditing and law and order organs has been mastered by practice, in order to increase the operativeness and effectiveness of preventing and unmasking encroachments on socialist property and to ensure retribution for damage done. A total of 1.6 million projects and separate premises are now equipped with fire alarm systems.

Thanks to the intensification of the activity of the apparatus of the Main Administration for Combatting the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation, it has been possible to unmask a number of criminal groups of plunderers of socialist property in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Moscow, and in Rostov and other oblasts. A considerable amount of abuses and embezzlement in trade, agriculture, construction, the service sphere, and in oil extraction and road transport organizations, has been cut short. The plunderers and bribe-takers have been made legally responsible, irrespective of the post which they occupied.

However, the Main Administration for Combatting the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation is still working in an insufficiently operative and effective manner. In places its workers are frequently distracted toward carrying out raids and identifying, on a mass scale, minor violations of the law. Meanwhile many major plunderers are not unmasked in time. The introduction of strict order into the stock-taking and storing of material

valuables and the introduction of technical means of protection require great efforts. The Main Administration for Combatting the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation, in conjunction with the leaders of enterprises, people's controllers, inspection organs and social formations are faced with still having to do a great deal in order to reliably block all the channels and cracks in every labor collective through which the national wealth flows away, and to create an atmosphere of intolerance toward the plundering of it.

In this regard, particular attention is required by the branches of the agroindustrial complex, primarily livestock-breeding, where embezzlement of products, concealment of livestock numbers, fictitious writing off of animals as having contracted murrain, and false additions to weight gains and milk yields still occur. Many enterprises in the food and meat-milk industries are hard hit by minor embezzlements. Many cases of abuse are met with in the practice of purchasing agricultural products and as a result the producers and suppliers of these products take a loss. This kind of abuse is committed in determining the sugar content of sugar beet, the fatness of livestock, the grade of cotton, the moisture of grain and the fat content of milk. There are frequent cases of both sides entering into a criminal deal, which facilitates the creation of unaccounted-for products with subsequent embezzlement.

The national economy makes great losses in the freight transportation. The weight of many freight loads is often determined "by eye," which unconscientious deliverers and embezzlers take advantage of. In railroad transport, for example, the disparity between the weight stated in the documents and the actual weight frequently amounts to from 5 to 20 percent. It is necessary to intensify the responsibility of transport workers for the safety of freight loads and to ban the transportation of freight loads without accurate determination of load weight. This is a soluble task from the technical point of view. There already exist models of electronic scales which make it possible to determine the weight of even moving rolling stock.

Effective measures to improve the safety of valuables will have to be taken within the system of trade and of everyday services and in the construction industry. Thus, the involvement of brigades of temporary workers in the sphere of construction is characterized by a considerable amount of falsely inflated figures and of embezzlement. Fewer people are employed in agricultural construction in Armenia than there are "moonlighters" who travel outside the republic. They bring home up to 120 million rubles annually, which exceeds the wage fund of the construction workers of the two republican construction ministries. Last year in Chechen-Ingushetia, 26,000 villages were calculated to have their kolkhoz or sovkhos do other temporary work, while almost 20,000 people from towns were brought in for the harvest. This problem is heterogeneous in essence. In order to solve it it will be necessary to put in order the normative regulation and planning of the use of the work force, to improve the organization and stimulation of honest and skillful work, and of course to intensify the struggle against any kind of rogue who, by means of machinations, bribes and involvement in criminal deals, also corrupts brigade members and the leaders of economic units.

The delivery of oil products to consumers needs to be further put in order. In Voroshilovgrad Oblast, for example, this supply has been concentrated in a

territorial administration of the State Committee for the Supply of Petroleum Products of the Ukrainian SSR, the geography of the filling station network has been determined and small filling stations have been established on construction sites, in large garages, in field camps and in remote villages. In one incomplete year alone, 33,000 metric tons of fuel have been saved. Expenditure of fuel on the needs of the population has grown by half as much again, while proceeds have increased by 6 million rubles. Previously, the personal owners of 365,000 automobiles and motorcycles received only 37,000 metric tons of gasoline annually instead of the calculated 120 million metric tons. A considerable amount of diesel fuel used to go toward heating individual houses without payment.

In Belorussia, on the initiative of the Committee of People's Control of the republic and with the active assistance of the soviets of people's deputies, the supply of the owners of private transport with fuel directly through the motor transport establishments of kolkhozes and sovkhoses is being introduced on a wide scale. In this way 88,000 liters of fuel, most of which would previously have been acquired illegally, were sold in only 1 month.

The responsible attitude of the leaders of labor collectives toward the safety of the national wealth is of no small importance. However, there are a considerable number of cases in which certain economic leaders conceal the genuine volumes of losses through poor management and do not strive for retribution against those guilty of inflicting the damage, writing off up to 70 or 80 percent of the cost of this damage as production costs. Frequently when cases are discovered of shortfalls, embezzlement and speculation, falsely inflated figures, output of defective goods, spoilage and poor management, documents on them are not even sent to the investigative organs.

In spite of the clear demands of the normative acts, internal departmental and interdepartmental control is not always effective. There are few specialists with the highest qualifications among the chief and senior auditing accountants, which has a telling effect on the quality of audits. Serious breaches are committed in the formation of cadres of the auditing apparatus. In Azerbaijan, for example, Averbukh, who had twice been convicted, and who engaged in blackmail and falsification of auditing materials, was for a long time employed as an expert accountant. Khasanov, a former auditing accountant of the Ministry of Construction of the Uzbek SSR, systematically took bribes from plunderers.

It is necessary to intensify at a local level the coordination and cooperation of law and order and auditing control organs without permitting parallelism or duplication of audits. The experience of Georgia, where the auditing control apparatus of the state budget ministries has been reorganized and transferred to the republic's Ministry of Finance and the auditing apparatus of other administrative links has been put in order, would seem to be very useful.

The struggle against speculation, the ground for which is laid by the shortage of certain goods in high demand, has been intensified. There are a considerable number of cases of criminal deals between resourceful "fixers" and dishonest workers in trade. In Dushanbe, for example, the resale of footwear and clothes which had been bought up in the shops was going on

unpunished. Those guilty of connivance have been strictly called to account. The official measures aimed at increasing the effectiveness of cutting short speculative aspirations have been specially discussed by the Collegium of the USSR MVD and by the leaders of the MVD and the internal affairs administrations of the republics, krays and oblasts and will be persistently put into practice. However, in addition to the criminal prosecution of speculators, it is necessary to put in order the normative regulation of the kolkhoz-market and commission trades, a measure that will help to guard the market from speculators.

Intensification of the safety of socialist property would be promoted by revision of the obsolete departmental normative acts which regulate accounting and accountability, the expenditure of material valuables, and the technological norms of writing things off as natural depreciation of irrevocable losses. It is expedient to establish a system of factual accounting for the expenditure of raw materials, other materials, and also to develop a unified statewide system of classifying all kinds of losses in the national economy. Moral, economic, administrative and other circumstances which contribute to embezzlement and abuse should be regularly discussed at meetings in labor collectives, making it thereby possible to take more effective measures to eliminate them. Indexes of the safety of socialist property should be introduced as obligatory criteria in summing up the results of socialist competition and of the fulfillment of plan tasks.

An important component part of socialist civilization and an indispensable attribute of our socialist way of life are the reliability and stability of social order in the towns and villages, in public places and on main lines of transport. An atmosphere of calm and security and a high standard of behavior are of great sociopolitical significance. Social order has a direct influence on the improvement of the moral climate and on the attitude of working people in production and in everyday life.

A wealth of experience in strengthening social order has been accumulated in the RSFSR. An example of this is Sverdlovsk Oblast, where a movement under the motto "Work and Social Discipline Are the Guarantee of the Collective" is developing on a wide scale. More than 200 industrial enterprises and over 200,000 working people are participating in it. In the Ukraine, an important place in the education of respect for the law is occupied by the movement for a high standard of culture and exemplary social order in populated localities and labor collectives. In the republic great attention is paid to implementing the comprehensive plans for the prevention of law violations.

But the main responsibility for preventing and cutting short law violations in the streets and public places naturally rests with the militia. To a decisive extent, social order depends on the professionally skilled work of the patrol, point and duty services, the district inspectors and the State Motor Vehicle Inspection Administration, and on their skillful reliance on the assistance of the public and voluntary organizations. There is still a considerable amount of omissions, passivity, lack of responsibility and red tape in this work.

The patrol and point service of the militia has been reorganized. At the present time such a service has been created in most towns. Its supply with

means of transport and communications has been improved. Through joint patrolling, details of the militia and the voluntary people's militia have been improved and the density and mobility on these details has been increased in public places, especially in the evening and at night, in residential and suburban areas, at railroad stations and at markets.

A considerable number of useful forms of cooperation between the voluntary people's militias and the militia have been formed in Bashkir ASSR, the Vologda, Gorkiy and Kemerovo oblasts, Dnepropetrovsk and Ustinov. Members of the people's voluntary people's militias are trained in methodological centers and offices attached to the headquarters of the voluntary people's militias, at faculties of people's universities and at lectures and seminars in enterprises. There are reviews of the voluntary people's militias and rallies of their members. At the same time it must be admitted that despite the considerable numbers of voluntary people's militias and of their members, the standard of organization and the effectiveness of their work continue to be low in places. The collegium of the ministry has directed the attention of the leaders of a number of internal affairs organs to their inadequate cooperation with the voluntary people's militias and to the poor assistance rendered to their staffs in the work organization, legal education, instruction and training of members of the voluntary people's militias.

In recent years the maintenance of order at railroad stations has been intensified and a greater number of suburban and passenger trains are accompanied by militia details. The collectives of industrial enterprises have assumed the patronage of more than 2,000 suburban trains serving the zones where their workers live. There is experience of such patronage in Kiev, Kharkov and Lvov. At the same time it is necessary to speak of the unfavorable state of social order in several sectors of the Moscow, Oktyabrskaya, and West Siberian railroads and of serious shortcomings in the work of a number of transport organs of internal affairs.

The standard of road transport traffic continue to be low, which leads to accidents, human casualties and great material losses. One-third of road accidents are caused by drivers in an inebriated condition. One would think that the serious measures applied to those who violate the law would meet with the full support of the collectives of motor transport enterprises. Meanwhile in some regions of the country, for every 10 road accidents, eight petitions with requests not to punish the guilty parties are received. Such "intercession" interferes with the maintenance of order on the roads. Measures are also being taken in order to increase the strictness and at the same time the standard of the work of inspectors of the State Motor Vehicle Inspection Administration. This work should be distinguished by the well-founded decisions and by a polite and tactful, but always formal and principled attitude toward road users. Cases of extortion and bribe-taking are being decisively eradicated. A personal chest badge for inspectors of the State Motor Vehicle Inspection Administration has been introduced in order to increase their personal responsibility on the road.

Questions of strengthening social order are interwoven in the closest manner with questions of increasing the standard of everyday life and the organization of citizens' leisure. It is precisely in the sphere of the

family and of everyday life that 70 percent of murders and of cases of grievous bodily harm and one-third of cases of hooliganism occur. An antisocial psychology of everyday life predominates among the reasons for violent, "drunken" crimes.

The time is now ripe to significantly increase the activity of the public and to intensify the direct educational influence of labor collectives in each residential microrayon. Up until now many forms of social education in places of residence have not had clearly developed organizational and legal bases for their activity, their material basis has been poor, and their ties with the labor collectives have been weak. There are about 3 million activists in the almost 530,000 street and district housing committees. The interests of the task required that the social-educational status of self-governing collectives be defined in detail, that their material basis be strengthened in their place of residence, and that the rights and duties of coordinating committees in organizing the educational work in the microrayons be formulated. Clearly, the voluntary people's militias, the ranks of which unite 13 million working people, a considerable number of whom are communists and Komsomol members, could take on the solving of some part of the tasks of organization, education and patronage.

The role of district inspectors of the militia is important in preventing law violations. They are a numerically strong detachment of officers who are professionally trained for work directly with the population, work that is expected to prevent negative phenomena. The local soviets, which confirm district inspectors in their posts, have done a considerable amount to increase the law and order role of these officers. The provision of inspectors with official premises, telephones and housing in the sectors assigned to them has been improved.

Practical and professional responsibility and also the active resistance of the population make it possible for many district inspectors to skillfully solve tasks connected with preventing law violations. The party committees pay great attention to strengthening this service. Thus, when the bureau of the Sverdlovskiy raykom in Moscow discussed the accountability report of the district inspector communist V. N. Mashin last year, it noted that he successfully fulfills his party duty, that he knows the population well, that he has won authority with the public and relies in a practical manner on the aktiv and that he skillfully conducts preventive work in families, with adults and with adolescents. Violations of the law have significantly decreased in the sector. It has been recommended that the experience of V. N. Mashin be widely spread.

The USSR MVD is striving to achieve an intensification of the preventive and operational-service influence of militia inspectors on previously convicted persons, parasites, alcoholics, rowdies, unhappy families and "difficult" adolescents.

Drunkenness has a considerable negative influence on the dynamics of law violations and crime. The widespread nature of this dangerous social evil and its very grave consequences for the moral and physical health of the individual, the family, and its descendants and the irretrievable social and

economic losses to society have, unfortunately, been aggravated over recent decades, in spite of the measures taken by the state. In the militia's struggle against drunkenness a considerable number of manifestations of a campaign-like approach and liberalism have been observed, and insufficient attention has been paid to preventing this social disease which is destructive in its consequences.

Selective research attests to the fact that in a number of enterprises it has become the norm that more than 30 or 35 percent of sick-leave certificates are issued precisely on Monday, that is, after the Saturday and Sunday rest. In 35 to 45 percent of cases drunkenness is the reason for divorces and for the annual disintegration of 300,000 to 400,000 families. The formation of a considerable mass of crimes is connected with drunkenness: the absolute majority of cases of hooliganism and two-thirds of murders and crimes connected with the infliction of grievous bodily harm are committed in a state of intoxication. Parasitism and many selfish crimes go hand in hand with drunkenness. Two-thirds of recidivists are in need of treatment for alcoholism.

Proceeding from the resolutions on overcoming drunkenness and alcoholism, which were adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, the Collegium of the USSR MVD has discussed the entire aggregate of practical measures to prevent and eradicate drunkenness which arise for the internal affairs organs. The militia is expected to ensure rigorous fulfillment of the norms of the law, which stipulate strict administrative and criminal punishments for drunkenness in public places, home distilling, violations of the rules of trading and speculation in alcoholic beverages and driving vehicles in an intoxicated state. Sanctions against involving adolescents in drunkenness have been intensified.

However, the essence of the decisions which have been taken lies not only and not so much in the severity of punishments as in the creation of the necessary preconditions for the eradication of drunkenness from our socialist reality and for the assertion of sobriety as an inseparable feature and a conscientiously and universally observed norm of the socialist way of life. It is important to substantially "sober up" the counters of our shops and to close down the brisk trade in alcoholic beverages which has developed recently in places where it should not be found: almost by the entrances of enterprises, near institutions of entertainment, sports, medicine and education and near dormitories.

It is also necessary to widen the narcological assistance for the population, implementing it both on voluntary principles and anonymously and also publicly and compulsorily. Within the system of the MVD organs the network of work-therapy dispensaries is being enlarged. However, it is not secret that more radical results are achieved in the early stages of preventing drunkenness. Practice attests, in particular, to the effectiveness of voluntary forms of treatment in the narcological institutions of the Ministry of Health and its branches, centers and departments which have been created in a number of large enterprises in the Irkutsk, Kursk, Novosibirsk, Sverdlovsk, Kharkov and other oblasts. In such departments hospital treatment is combined with the

patients' work directly at their workplaces. The number of such institutions is increasing.

It is quite clear that in the struggle against drunkenness reliance must not be placed on only militia or only medical measures. The success of the struggle is determined by the intense efforts of the whole of society.

The All-Union Scientific-Practical Conference on Problems of Perfecting Developed Socialism and Ideological Work (December 1984) stressed the particular significance of educating in each person a conscious need for work.

Soviet laws are strongly irreconcilable with parasitism. The actions of drunkards, idlers and parasites are, whether they want it or not, hostile to the interests of the broad masses of working people. The internal affairs organs are activating their work to uncover persons leading a parasitic existence. Of those who have received an official warning about the impermissibility of an antisocial, parasitic way of life, one-quarter is made up of alcoholics and over one-third have been dismissed from enterprises and institutions for breaches of work discipline and drunkenness. A considerable number of concealed forms of parasitism and of living an unearned income exists. At the direction of the executive committees of the soviets of people's deputies, the majority of parasites (two-thirds or more) find work at enterprises and on construction sites. Those who maliciously and systematically evade socially useful work are, when grounds for this exist in law, made criminally responsible.

A comprehensive approach by the public, the law and order organs and the administrations of enterprises to revealing and employing persons not engaged in socially useful work, is being implemented in Leningrad and in the Kirov and a number of other oblasts of the country. There are good results in Novopolotsk, where virtually the entire gainfully employed population is engaged in socially useful work. The activity of the town employment bureau, the economic organs, educational institutions and internal affairs organs are closely coordinated here. A strict count is kept of those dismissed from work, those who find employment and those who are released from educational institutions. As a result, interruptions in working careers and also violations of the law have sharply decreased.

At the same time, manifestations of formalism and of nonparticipation in involving in work those persons not engaged in socially useful work are met with fairly frequently. The departments and bureaus of employment of executive committees frequently confine themselves to issuing appropriate directions, do not bring matters to a conclusion in conjunction with the militia and reconcile themselves to cases of refusal to employ persons who avoid work. Some leaders of economic organs simply have no desire to burden themselves with care for the education of these persons. Such cases have been noted in enterprises in the Donetsk, Murmansk, Perm, Tashkent, Chimkent, Yaroslavl and other oblasts.

Our economic, social and legal practice must exclude any possibility of acquiring unearned income and of a parasitic existence in all its forms. It is necessary to block the channels of concealed redistribution of income and

of uncontrolled utilization and circulation of money and material valuables, which make it possible for individual people to live on doubtful, illegally acquired means in defiance of honest workers. Legislative solutions to the problems of unearned income are also necessary. The essence of the very concept of unearned income and forms and methods of overcoming it should be clearly determined. Well-organized state and social control, including financial-tax control, over the formation of personal income is necessary to the people's well-being and establishing the correspondence of these sources to the work contribution of each member of society. In connection with this, the expediency should be discussed of citizens presenting a kind of account of their income to the financial control organs (who in this case should be given the right to verify the correctness of the facts received). Such control will not humiliate the honest worker but will be correctly perceived by him and will at the same time help to prevent "left-hand," illegal or other uncontrolled income.

It is necessary to more actively uncover and prevent attempts to evade the law by making a profit from subletting or exchanging apartments, by buying and selling automobiles at "noncommission" prices, or by speculatively selling articles of the handicraft industry. At the same time, our legislation has, up until now, not stipulated or has insufficiently clearly responded to the contribution (academic coaching, repair services or other relations agreed to in a contract). It is thus expedient to adopt a legislative provision on individual work activity, to stipulate reasonable limits of accumulation, limiting it by progressive taxation. Finding an optimal solution to the above problems would be helped by widescale discussions of them by working people.

The partywide, statewide and nationwide care for the qualitative renewal of all aspects of our life is manifest in the further strengthening of law and order and legality. In strengthening law and order, the internal affairs organs are acting on behalf, in the name of the law and in the interests of working people. For this reason, every MVD worker is obliged to be an example of high standards of political and professional standard and a model of honesty, principled attitude and incorruptibility. All his actions must be irreproachable from the point of view of social justice and Soviet law.

The leaders and political organs, the party and Komsomol organs of the internal affairs organs are persistently striving to achieve an increase in the official activeness and professional skills of cadres, education of them in the spirit of high ideological awareness, inviolable observance of legality, irreconcilability to violations of law and order, a high degree of responsibility for exemplary fulfillment of official duty, and skillful fulfillment of the set tasks of further strengthening legality and law and order.

That is the main content of the work of personnel of the MVD organs in preparing for the 27th CPSU Congress.

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FOR OUR SOVIET MOTHERLAND

NEW DOCUMENTS FROM THE PATRIOTIC WAR. TOWARD THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEFEAT OF MILITARIST JAPAN

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 85 (signed to press 14 Aug 85) pp 80-92

[Text] Time is unable to eradicate from the memory of mankind some dates. One of them is 2 December 1945, the day Japan, which had been allied with Hitlerite Germany, signed the act of its unconditional surrender.

The definitive defeat of imperialist Japan--an active member of the fascist-militaristic bloc--depended on a number of factors. In order to achieve a decisive victory, the participation of the Soviet Union in the war was very important. While fighting German fascism, our country had been forced always to bear in mind the threat of aggression on the part of Japan and to take the necessary steps to strengthen the security of its Far Eastern borders.

The U.S. and British governments--the Soviet allies in the anti-Hitlerite coalition--who had been waging war on Japan in the Pacific Ocean since December 1941--realized that the outcome of the war depended on the defeat of the Japanese land forces. Both American and British ruling circles believed, not without justification, that unless the Soviet Union would enter the war against Japan, they would need a force of no less than 7 million men to be able to invade the Japanese islands and that the war would be prolonged by another 1.5 years. We know that according to American and British plans, the landing of the Sixth American Army on the island of Kyushu (Operation Olympic), was planned for November 1945, and that of the 8th and 10th armies on Honshu (Operation Coronet) for as late as March 1946, and only if Operation Olympic was successful at that.

In order to force Japan to capitulate, our allies asked for the help of the Soviet Union. Agreement to the effect that 2-3 months after the surrender of fascist Germany the USSR would initiate combat operations against Japan was reached on 11 February 1945 at the Crimean conference of the three great powers. Subsequently, at the Potsdam Conference, the Soviet side confirmed the inviolability of this accord.

The Far Eastern campaign mounted by the Soviet armed forces was the logical extension and structural component of the Great Patriotic War and marked the end of World War II. The historical truth was that it was precisely the combat operations of the Soviet army that dealt the mortal blow at Japanese

militarism, rather than the militarily senseless barbaric atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the objective of which was purely political: to impose upon the USSR American postwar development conditions.

On 5 April 1945, loyal to its obligations as an ally, the Soviet Union denounced the neutrality pact with Japan. This was a legitimate answer to Japanese policy, which had been hostile toward the USSR, and Japan's systematic violations of the neutrality pact and its help to Hitlerite Germany in its war against our country. In the course of preparations for the Far Eastern campaign, Supreme Command Headquarters strategically regrouped its forces and materiel from west to east.

The peculiarity of the forthcoming campaign was that it was to take place in a new and difficult theater of military operations, many thousands of kilometers distant from the center of our country. In order to participate in it, the 39th and 5th armies were transferred from East Prussia and the 53rd All-Arms Army and 6th Guards Tank Army from Czechoslovakia. A number of individual formations were also transferred. "The regrouping of such considerable forces and equipment within a relatively short time, covering a distance ranging from 9,000 to 11,000 kilometers, was one of the biggest of its kind in history," Marshal of the Soviet Union M. V. Zakharov, wrote.

A Far Eastern Command of Soviet Forces was established to lead the armed forces (Marshal of the Soviet Union A. M. Vasilevskiy commander in chief, Lt Gen I. V. Shikin member of the Military Council, and Col Gen S. P. Ivanov chief of staff). This substantially influenced the operative leadership of the troops and the efficient coordination of activities of three fronts, the navy and the air force in this very large strategic operation.

Supreme Command Headquarters set as the main objective of the campaign in the Far East the defeat of the Kwantung army and the liberation of the northeastern provinces of China and North Korea from the Japanese aggressors. The objective was to crush the enemy with a headlong offensive and to prevent his withdrawal within China. This called for powerful meeting engagements aimed at routing the main forces of the Kwantung army, splitting it in two and eliminating it. The Far Eastern campaign included the Manchurian strategic and South Sakhalin offensive and Kuril landing operations. Forces of three fronts and of the Pacific fleet and the Amur Navy Flotilla were to take part in the implementation of these assignments.

The Transbaykal Front was deployed on the western border of Manchuria (Marshal of the Soviet Union R. Ya. Malinovskiy commanding), consisting of the 39th, 53rd, 36th and 17th All-Arms armies, 6th Guards Tank and 12th Air armies. The front included a cavalry-mechanized group of Soviet-Mongolian forces commanded by Col Gen I. A. Pliyev.

The First Far Eastern Front (Marshal of the Soviet Union K. A. Meretskov commanding) consisted of the First Red Banner, Fifth, 25th and 35th All-Arms armies, the 9th Air Army and the 10th Mechanized Corps.

The Second Far Eastern Front (Army General M. A. Purkayev commanding) consisted of the Second Red Banner, 15th and 16th All-Arms armies, the Fifth

Separate Infantry Corps, the Kamchatka Defense Area and the 10th Air Army.

The Pacific Fleet (Admiral I. S. Yumashev commanding) and the Red Army Amur Navy Flotilla (Rear Admiral N. V. Antonov commanding) actively participated in the combat operations.

Exceptionally extensive work was done by the political organs and the party and Komsomol organizations. All political organ units were strengthened during the period of preparations with political workers who had gained rich combat experience on the Soviet-German front. It was explained at meetings and party and Komsomol gatherings and at individual talks and rallies with excellent soldiers, and rallies of troops in the different branches of the armed forces that the purpose of the forthcoming combat operations was the final ending of World War II as a whole and ensuring the safety of the borders of the USSR in the Far East, and the liberation of the peoples of Asia, China and Korea above all, from the Japanese occupation forces.

Ideological and political work was aimed at preparing the forces for decisive and daring initiative-minded actions. The live party word significantly enhanced the political activeness of the troops, as confirmed by the mass joining of the VKP(b). At the beginning of the operations, more than one-half of the entire army personnel consisted of party and Komsomol members.

Combat operations began in the Far East on the night of 9 August. The offensive mounted by the Soviet forces developed successfully. In the very first days they advanced between 50 and 150 kilometers, defeated cover units and, breaching 45 points, entered Manchurian territory. The enemy's efforts to prevent our forces from reaching the Manchurian plain and North Korea failed.

Soviet aviation was unchallenged in the air over the entire theater of military operations. The Pacific Fleet reliably blockaded the North Korean coast. Airborne troops landed in Mukden, Changchun, Port Arthur, Dalny, Harbin and Kirin. The Kwantung army was defeated by 18 August; the disarming of Japanese forces deployed in Manchuria and North Korea was completed by the end of August. At the same time, operations for the liberation of South Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands, which had been taken by Japan from Russia by force in the past, were successfully completed.

One of the most characteristic features of the Far Eastern campaign was its brevity. It lasted no more than 24 days. In terms of scope, pace and military and political results, however, it plays a particular role among the other campaigns of World War II.

The combat operations mounted by the Soviet armed forces in the Far East covered a 5,130-kilometer-wide front and developed in a depth ranging between 200 and 800 kilometers. The Soviet troops had to operate under difficult weather and natural conditions. The semidesert, mountainous and swampy areas and the huge areas covered by saline soil and sand dunes created tremendous difficulties for wheel-driven vehicles and considerably reduced the maneuverability of our forces; This made the delivery of material and technical supplies extremely difficult. Surmounting all obstacles on their

way, within a short time the Soviet troops surrounded the enemy's strategic group and forced his surrender. The Kwantung army was the largest assault group of the Japanese militarists. The Japanese forces lost more than 677,000 soldiers and officers, including 84,000 killed or wounded.

In these battles the Soviet troops displayed mass heroism and boundless loyalty to the homeland and the cause of the communist party. More than 308,000 soldiers and officers were awarded orders and medals and 93 participants in the Far Eastern campaign were awarded the high title of Hero of the Soviet Union for combat exploits. More than 300 formations and units were awarded orders and 25 were made guard units; more than 200 formations and units were awarded the honor titles of Amur, Ussuri, Hingan, Kharbin, Mukden, Port Arthur, Kuril and Sakhalin.

Most of the documents hereby presented to the readers are published for the first time. They are kept in the archives of the USSR Ministry of Defense and prepared for publication by Major Gen V. V. Gurkin and Col O.G. Gurov.

Abbreviations

bmp - marine battalion
brmp - marine brigade
gv. - guards
dvf - Far Eastern Front
dzot - earth and timber pillbox
dot - pillbox
kaf - Red Banner Amur Flotilla
mk - mechanized corps
MNRA - Mongolian People's Revolutionary Army
pd - infantry division
RGK - GHQ Reserve
sb - infantry battalion
sr - infantry company
srf - Sungari River Flotilla (Japanese)
ta - tank army
tbr - tank brigade
tk - tank corps
ur - fortified area

Document No 1

From the Directive of Supreme Command Headquarters on Completing Preparations for the Offensive Operation

To the Commander of the Forces of the Far Eastern Front¹

28 June 1945

...Supreme Command Headquarters Orders:

1. To carry out and complete all preparatory measures involving the front forces in grouping the forces and their combat and material and technical

way, within a short time the Soviet troops surrounded the enemy's strategic group and forced his surrender. The Kwantung army was the largest assault group of the Japanese militarists. The Japanese forces lost more than 677,000 soldiers and officers, including 84,000 killed or wounded.

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To the Commander of the Forces of the Far Eastern Front¹

28 June 1945

...Supreme Command Headquarters Orders:

1. To carry out and complete all preparatory measures involving the front forces in grouping the forces and their combat and material and technical

support and troop control by 1 August, with a view to mounting an offensive operation based on the special order of Supreme Command Headquarters.

2. Operational guidelines:

a) The purpose of the operation must be active assistance to the forces of the Transbaykal Front and the Primore Group in the defeat of the Kwantung Japanese Army and capturing the Kharbin area.

b) Mount an offensive operation in the direction of Sungari with the forces of the 15th Army interacting with the Amur Navy Flotilla.

Said operation should involve no fewer than three infantry divisions, the bulk of the RGK artillery, tanks, aviation and fording facilities; the immediate objective will be the crossing of the Amur River, seizure of the Tungkiang UR and reaching the Kiamusze area on the 23rd day of the operation.

Subsequent activities will take place along the Sungari River toward Kharbin....

6. All preparatory steps must be taken in deep secrecy.

The following may participate in drafting the plan for the operation: the commander, the member of the Military Council, the front chief of staff and the chief of the operative administration of the front staff.

Commanders of branches and services of the armed forces may develop certain parts of the plan without being informed of the overall front assignments.

The front's written directives must be issued to army commanders verbally.

The procedure for access to the formulation of the plan for army operations must be the same as that for the front.

All documents related to the plans of action of the troops must be stored in the private safes of the commander of the front and the army commanders.

7. Correspondence and talks on problems related to the plan for the operation must be conducted strictly personally, via the Red Army chief of general staff.

Supreme Command Headquarters
J. Stalin
Antonov

Original

TsAMO SSSR [USSR Ministry of Defense Central Archive], f. [form] 132-A, op. [list] 2642, d. [case] 13, ll. [sheets] 238-240.

Document No 2

Supreme Command Headquarters Order on the Appointment of the Commander in Chief of Soviet Forces in the Far East

To: Marshal Vasilevskiy, Commander of the Forces of the Transbaykal and Far Eastern Fronts, the Primore Group of Forces² and the commander of the Pacific Fleet

30 July 1945

Marshal of the Soviet Union Vasilevskiy, A. M. is hereby appointed commander in chief of Soviet forces in the Far East, assuming command as of 1 August 1945 of the Transbaykal and Far Eastern fronts, the Primore Group of Forces and the Pacific Fleet.

**Supreme Command Headquarters
J. Stalin
Antonov**

**Original
TsAMO SSSR, f. 132-A, op. 2642, d. 39, l. 155**

Document No 3

From the Directive of Supreme Command Headquarters on the Initiation of Combat Operations

To Marshal Vasilevskiy, Commander in Chief of Soviet Forces in the Far East

Copies to: Commanders of the Forces of the Transbaykal and First and Second Far Eastern Fronts

To the Commander of the Pacific Fleet

7 August 1945, 1630 hours

Supreme Command Headquarters Orders:

1. ...The combat operations of the aviation of all fronts to begin on the morning of 9 August with the bombing, above all, of Kharbin and Changchun.

Ground forces will cross the Manchurian border as follows: the Transbaykal and First Far Eastern Fronts, on the morning of 9 August;

Second Far Eastern Front--as instructed by Marshal Vasilevskiy

2. On receipt of this order, the Pacific Fleet will:

a) Convert to operative readiness No 1;

b) Undertake the laying of mines in accordance with the plan, with the exception of the estuaries of the Amur River and Tauy inlet;

c) Separate navigation to be halted and transport vessels to be directed to troop concentration centers.

Subsequently, the ships shall sail in convoys under navy protection;

e) Submarines shall be deployed.

The navy will begin combat operations on the morning of 9 August....

Supreme Command Headquarters

J. Stalin

Antonov

Original

TsAMO SSSR, f. 132-A, op. 2642, d. 39, ll. 162-163

Document No 4

Directive of the Commander in Chief of the Soviet Forces in the Far East on the Beginning of Combat Operations

To the Commander of the Troops of the Transbaykal Front³

7 August 1945, 2300 hours (Transbaykal time)

In connection with the additional instructions of Supreme Command Headquarters, I hereby order:

The initiation of combat operations by advance elements, scheduled for 1800 hours on 10 August 1945 Moscow time, shall be advanced to 1800 hours on 8 August 1945 Moscow time or 2400 hours 8 August 1945 Transbaykal time.

In this connection:

1. Comrade Kravchenko's⁴ main forces and Comrade Pliyev's group to be brought to the launching areas no later than the evening of 8 August 1945, so that the strong advance elements may begin operations in said directions at 2400 hours on 8 August 1945 (Transbaykal time) and the main forces begin their engagement (crossing the border) no later than at 0430 hours on 9 August 1945 (Transbaykal time).

2. The strong advanced and reconnaissance elements of Comrades Danilov⁵ and Lyudnikov⁶ will initiate operations in their assigned directions also at 2400 hours on 8 August 1945 (Transbaykal time), carrying out their previously stipulated assignments. All necessary steps must be taken for the main forces of the armies commanded by Comrades Lyudnikov and Danilov to be deployed in their launching areas no later than the morning of 9 August 1945, so that, after initiating operations at 0430 hours on 9 August 1945 (Transbaykal time) in the same directions with tank and mechanized forces (operations), the main

infantry forces of these armies must be deployed in no case later than at 1200 hours on 9 August 1945.

3. The forces of the main group of Comrade Luchinskiy's army⁷ will undertake the crossing of the Argun River in its assigned direction at 2400 hours on 8 August 1945 (Transbaykal time).

4. The entire front aviation will begin combat operations on the morning of 9 August 1945 in accordance with its planned assignments. Have in mind that the 19th Bomber Aviation Corps will be used in the first days of the operations in connection with the simultaneous conversion to the decisive offensive by the troops of the First Far Eastern Front in support of the latter.

5. Report immediately on received directives and orders issued.

Vasilevskiy
Ivanov

Original
TsAMO SSSR, f. 66, op. 178499, d. 8, ll. 192-193

Document No 5

Address by the Military Council of the Transbaykal Front to Soldiers,
Sergeants, Officers and Generals

10 August 1945

Dear Comrades in Arms!

The heroic Red Army defeated Hitlerite Germany and its satellites, defended the freedom, honor and independence of our homeland and secured the safety of our western borders. Now we must put an end to the aggressor in the east and, together with the troops of our allies, defeat the army of the Japanese imperialists and ensure the safety of our eastern borders.

For many years the Japanese imperialists waged a policy of aggression toward our country. The Japanese militarists have frequently treacherously attacked our homeland in an effort to seize the resources of the Soviet Far East, the Transbaykal and Siberia and establish their piratical order on our soil.

From the very first days of the establishment of the Soviet system, the Japanese aggressive military assumed a particularly hostile position toward the Soviet state. We have not forgotten and shall never forget the manner in which the Japanese interventionists threw their weight around and insulted our people in 1918-1922. Fresh in our memory is the raid mounted by Japanese forces on Soviet territory at Khanka Lake in 1936, the piratical attack in the Primorye, at Lake Khasan in 1938, and the attack at the Khalkhin-Gol River.

We know and remember the way the Japanese imperialists actively helped the German fascists in their war against the Soviet Union. During the harsh days of the Great Patriotic War, when the fascist gangsters tortured our

people and burned our villages and cities on temporarily occupied Soviet territory, the Japanese aggressors concentrated against us large forces in the East, threatening the freedom and independence of our fatherland. They occupied Manchuria, turning it into an economic base and military bridgehead for attacking the USSR.

The Soviet people cannot calmly live and work as long as Japanese imperialists are clanking their arms at our Far Eastern borders, waiting for the convenient moment to attack our homeland.

After Germany's defeat and surrender, Japan remains the only major power which still pursuing the war. Japan rejected the demand of the three countries--the United States, Great Britain and China--of 26 July 1945 concerning the unconditional surrender of the Japanese armed forces.

Wishing to put an end to Japanese aggression, the Soviet government accepted the suggestion of its allies and joined in the statement of the allied powers of 26 July 1945.

The Soviet government declared that as of 9 August 1945 the Soviet Union shall consider itself in a state of war with Japan.

This wise policy of our government is the only means capable of securing the eastern borders of our homeland and contributing to the speediest possible restoration of universal peace.

Comrade Red Army men, sergeants, master sergeants, officers and generals of the Transbaykal Front!

The Supreme Commander in Chief has ordered the forces of our front to mount a decisive offensive against the Japanese aggressors and to rout and destroy the enemy with crushing blows.

Great political trust has been placed on us, comrades, and we must justify it and carry out the combat order with honor and dignity.

Remember that in the victorious battles against the Japanese aggressors we are fighting for the freedom, honor and independence of our homeland, gaining and securing the safety of our sacred eastern borders.

The Japanese Samurai are treacherous and experienced in deceit and will resist with the desperation of the doomed.

The enemy will try to harm us any way he can. That is why we must always be on guard, be vigilant and suspicious. Strengthen military discipline and organization, which are the guarantees for our success.

Comrade infantry and artillerymen, flyers, tankmen, mortarmen, sappers and signalers! The homeland has given us extensive and powerful combat ordnance with which the Red Army defeated Hitlerite Germany. Strike at the Japanese militarists the way the valorous Soviet forces struck at the German

aggressors. Advance rapidly and daringly, pursue, surround and destroy the sworn enemy and his combat materiel.

The front's Military Council is firmly confident that the valorous forces of the Transbaykal Front, infinitely loyal to the Soviet government and the Bolshevik Party and to their military duty, will rout the Japanese aggressors with crushing blows and enhance the glory and greatness of Soviet arms.

Under Lenin's banner forward to the complete defeat of the enemy!

Marshal of the Soviet Union Malinovskiy, Commander of the Forces of the Transbaykal Front,

Lt Gen A. Tevchenkov, member of the Military Council of the Transbaykal Front

Original

TsAMO SSSR, f. 210, op. 3173, d. 144, ll. 298-301.

Document No 6

From the Political Report of the Chief of the Political Administration of the First Far Eastern Front on Troop Heroism on the Battlefield

To the Military Council of the First Far Eastern Front

15 August 1945

The high offensive thrust of our forces and the good military training of the troops, sergeants and officers were clearly demonstrated in the first 6 days of offensive battles (9-14 August).

Examples of mass heroism and courage, valor and endurance, skill and cleverness and demonstrations of military cunning by troops and commanders in the fight against the Japanese were mass phenomena in all active units. Party and Komsomol members are playing a vanguard role.

Private 1st Class Kolesnik, V. S. and Red Armyman Popov (G. Ye.) duplicated the immortal exploit of Private Matrosov in the fights with the Japanese.

The company commanded by Senior Lieutenant Gomenyuk (First Army) was advancing against a powerful enemy dot. The dot had an all-round field of fire and its strong fire blocked any advance. The company went to ground under the enemy's fire. The company commander asked for daring volunteers to destroy the enemy's machine gun. Many volunteered and one of them was sapper Private 1st Class Kolesnik, Vasilii Stepanovich, Komsomol member, born 1923, Russian, from Kharkov Oblast.

Volunteering to carry out the commander's assignment, Kolesnik crawled to the dot and threw a bundle of hand grenades into the embrasure. He failed and the machine gun continued to fire. At that point the company rose to the attack. In order to save his comrades' lives and remembering the order of his commander concerning his assignment, sacrificing himself, Kolesnik blocked the

embrasure of the dot with his body. The machine gun misfired and the company was able to carry out its combat assignment. A similar exploit was performed by Red Armyman Popov from the 106th UR.

The high consciousness of the troops is confirmed also by cases in which wounded remain on the battlefield and continue to carry out combat assignments.

Komsomol member Private Filatov (Fifth Army) was wounded while blocking an enemy dot. He bandaged his own hand, stood up and with the shout "For the Motherland!" led the troops into storming the dot. Wounded a second time, Filatov was evacuated from the battlefield.

Komsomol member Sergeant Vasilev (25th Army) was wounded in the hand in combat but refused to go to the hospital. Talking with his comrades, he said: "I want to remain in the ranks and not be in a hospital."

There have been numerous examples of fast and decisive implementation of combat assignments.

In the attack of Malaya Chertova Mount, in the course of 90 minutes the company commanded by Lieutenant Perevoznikov (25th Army) eliminated four engineering obstacles set by the Japanese and blocked a dot.

With an energetic attack, Red Armymen of the detachment commanded by Captain Dord captured the ford at Keyko settlement, blocked six dzots, destroyed two of them, and in the course of this battle captured a Japanese flag and four wounded enemy soldiers.

A detachment of signalers, headed by Captain Shmatin laid two 1,800-meter-long cables across the Ussuri River in 19 minutes.

The moment the attack signal was sounded, Red Armyman party candidate Pondarenko (Fifth Army) moved ahead and, under small arm and machine gun fire, shouting "For the Motherland!," stormed the Japanese strong point. Quickly reaching the dot, Pondarenko removed the Japanese flag and raised instead the Red flag. Witnessing their comrade's daring action, the troops rushed the strong point and routed the enemy garrison.

Party member Lieutenant Markovets (35th Army), commander of a machine gun company, skillfully commanded his subunit in crossing the Ussuri River. His company was the first to cross the river. In the vanguard of those who crossed were party members Sergeant Kozlov and Red Armyman Podnyashvili. They were the first to swim across and to lead the entire company.

On 11 August the enemy opened fire on the march at a column commanded by Colonel Artutizhanov (Fifth Army). Party member Sergeant Chubykin, together with junior sergeants Probychev and Lysenko, went around the firing enemy and, from the rear, captured 10 Japanese soldiers dressed in civilian clothing. At a point when Japanese submachine gunners were firing from a stone house at the column marching along the road, Komsomol member Senior Sergeant

Khadzhimbirdayev (35th Army) rounded the building and, firing with his submachine gun from the rear, killed seven enemy soldiers.

Scouts are doing good work, displaying daring and inventiveness.

Lieutenant Kalinin (35th Army), commander of a squad of scouts, penetrated enemy lines, reconnoitered the area and personally blew up two Japanese observations towers.

A group of 11 scouts commanded by Lieutenant Goryachev (25th Army) carried out a night reconnaissance. The scouts came across a Japanese detachment consisting of 55 soldiers and three officers. Lieutenant Goryachev decided to mount a sudden attack on the enemy. Letting the Japanese close in, on Goryachev's order the scouts opened fire. More than 30 killed and wounded Japanese fell on the battlefield; the three officers were among the dead.

There have been numerous examples of good training and of courage by artillerymen.

...In the course of its advance, our infantry subunit encountered strong enemy machine gun fire. Lieutenants Kokarev and Dyryanov, commanders of artillery batteries, rapidly suppressed with accurate fire the Japanese firing positions and secured the further advance.

During a period of enemy artillery fire at our firing positions, under strong enemy fire, gun commanders sergeants Makukha and Savatev, displaying exceptional firmness, silenced the enemy battery with accurate fire.

In the course of the battles troops and commanders are countering the enemy's guile with resourcefulness and Russian native wit....

In the course of an assignment, the submachine gun of Master Sergeant Trofimov (25th Army) was destroyed in battle. Trofimov noticed not far from himself a Japanese soldier firing at our troops. He hurled himself on the soldier, captured his rifle, bayoneted the Japanese and fought on.

The popularizing of heroes distinguished in battles is taking place with the help of the press, special leaflets, combat leaflets, flash news and party and Komsomol meetings, political information reports and talks....

Major General K. Kalashnikov, Chief of the Political Administration of the First Far Eastern Front

Original

TsAMO SSSR, f. 234, op. 3225, d. 39, ll. 131-134

Document No 7

Combat Report by the Commander of the Forces of the Second Far Eastern Front on Capturing the City of Kiamusze

To Marshal of the Soviet Union Vasilevskiy, Commander of the Soviet Forces in the Far East

Copy to Army General Antonov, Red Army Chief of General Staff

17 August 1945

I hereby report:

The forces of the Second DVF completed the assignment set with directive of Supreme Command Headquarters in the Sungari direction by 17 August of this year (on the eighth day of the operation).

By 1000 hours on 17 August 1945, the front troops, with the assistance of the KAF, destroyed what was left of the enemy in the military town southwest of Kiamusze and totally cleared the city of Kiamusze and the airfield.

I am continuing the offensive on Changchun.

Purkayev

Shevchenko⁹

Leonov⁸

Copy

TsAMO SSSR, f. 66, op. 178449, d. 3, l. 249

Document No 8

General Staff Information Report to Supreme Command Headquarters on Combat Operations of the Troops in the Far Eastern Campaign

17 August 1945, 1335 hours

Transbaykal Front

The Sixth GV Tank Army, in developing its offensive toward Liaoyuan, captured the city and railroad center Tungliao toward the end of the day of 16 August, with the forces of the Fifth Guards tk; its Ninth gv. nk was 10 kilometers northwest of the city of Liaoyuan on the morning of 17 August.

The 36th Army--205th Tank Brigade, which continued its offensive along the Hailar, Kharbin railroad, occupied the city and railroad station Buhedu; its advance elements went by the Yalu railroad station and advanced by as much as 50 kilometers.

Second Far Eastern Front

The left flank units of the Second Army fought street combats in the city of Suniu.

The 66th sd of the 35th Army captured the city and railroad station of Poli; the 259th tbr, 25th Army, captured the city and railroad junctions of Tumen.

The 393rd sd entered Seisin, joining marine landing forces.

Colonel General Shtemenko, Chief of Operative Administration, Red Army General Staff

Original

TsAMO SSSR, f. 16-A, op. 1075, d. 18, l. 20

Document No 9

From the Combat Order of the Commander of the Transbaykal Front on the Creation of Mobile Detachments and Their Capturing the Cities of Changchun and Szepingai

To the Commander of the 36th Army Forces¹⁰

Copies to: Vasilevskiy
Antonov
Commander of the 39th Army

18 August 1945
1400 hours

...I hereby order:

1. The creation of two mobile detachments and, by no later than 22-23 August 1945, said detachments to occupy the following points: Changchun and Szepingai. The mobile detachments to consist of tank battalions, assault-antitank regiments and motorized infantry battalions. Radio and aircraft shall be used to communicate with the detachments....

Malinovskiy

Zakharov¹¹

Tevchenkov

Original

TsAMO SSSR, f. 210, op. 3131, d. 133, ll. 72-73

Document No 10

From the Operative Transbaykal Staff Report on Combat Operations of the Troops

To Chief of Staff of the Commander in Chief of the Soviet Forces in the Far East Ivanov

Copy to Stemenko, Red Army General Staff

20 August 1945
0200 hours

1. The front forces continued their offensive on 19 August 1945. On the right flank, units of the MNRA, whose cavalry divisions advanced up to 70 kilometers, captured the cities of Finnin and Rehe. In the center advance

elements of the Sixth gv. ta advanced by as much as 100 kilometers and captured the cities of Zhangjiu, Xinming and Liaoyuan.

An infantry detachment of 225 men was flown into Mukden on 19 August at 1315 hours. Two hundred men were flown into Changchun on 19 August 1945 at 1400 hours.

A representative of the front's staff,¹² who arrived in Mukden, was met at the airfield by the representative of Emperor Pu I, Mukden Garrison Chief Lieutenant General Honguo. In Changchun the representatives of the front's staff¹³ was met by Major Gen Matsumura, deputy chief of staff of the Kwantung Army.

Advance elements of the 36th Army, operating on the left flank, captured the cities of Maomaotsi and Tsitsihar.

Between 17 and 19 August 1945 13,800 Japanese soldiers and officers surrendered, including Major General Nomura, commandant of the Hailar UR....

N. Pavlovskiy¹⁴

Original

TsAMO SSSR, f. 210, op. 3131, d. 128, ll. 250-252

Document No 11

From the Combat Report of the Commander of the Amur Navy Flotilla on Arrival in Kharbin and Interaction With the Landing Detachment of the First Far Eastern Front

To Purkayev, Commander of the Forces of the Second Far Eastern Front

20 August 1945

0210 hours

...I arrived in Kharbin on 20 August 1945 at 0500 and established contact with the representatives of the first DVF, who had arrived on a Douglas airplane on 18 August 1945¹⁵....

I shall undertake the disarming of the Japanese-Manchurian (forces) together with the "landed forces" of the First dvf.

There are more than 34,000 Japanese forces in the city, including eight generals. I have disarmed and assumed authority over the SRF.

Antonov

Yakovenko¹⁶

Copy

TsAMO SSSR, f. 238, op. 170249, p. 1, l. 27

Document No 12

From the Combat Report of the Military Front of the Second Far Eastern Front

To Stalin

22 August 1945

2015 hours

1. During the day of 22 August 1945 the front forces continued their advance within Manchuria and the southern part of Sakhalin island and disarmed enemy forces. Organized resistance by the Japanese-Manchurian forces has stopped in all operational sectors of the front forces.

The Japanese are continuing to destroy bridges and crossings and to burn cities and settlements on the island of Sakhalin....

Purkayev

Leonov

Shevchenko

Copy

TsAMO SSSR, f. 28, op. 11627, d. 2704, ll. 47, 49

Document No 13

From the Combat Report of the Commander of the Forces of the Transbaykal Front on the Forces' Combat Operations

To Vasiliev¹⁷

Copy to Semenov¹⁸

22 August 1945

2400 hours

1. ...The disarming of the surrendered garrisons and the acceptance of captured soldiers and officers continued in the cities of Mukden and Changchun.

At 1730 hours, on 22 August, the Sixth gv. tank army landed 200 men in the city of Port Arthur and 150 men in Dairen....

Morozov¹⁹, Zolotov²⁰

Original

TsAMO SSSR, f. 210, op. 3116, d. 265, ll. 49, 51

Document No 14

From the Final Report of the Commander in Chief of the Soviet Forces in the Far East on the Completion of the Far Eastern Campaign of the Soviet Armed Forces

To Stalin
Copy to Antonov

3 September 1945

I hereby report:

1. The Soviet forces in the Far East, consisting of the Transbaykal Front, the First and Second Far Eastern fronts and the Pacific Fleet, which began their offensive on 9 August 1945, completed the combat assignments set by you by 1 September 1945 and occupied the following: all of Manchuria, Liaotung and Kwantung peninsulas, North Korea to the 38th Parallel, the southern part of the island of Sakhalin and all Kurilo islands.

The disarmament and surrender of the Kwantung Army has been completed in its essential lines. A total of 573,984 soldiers and officers of the Japanese army laid down their arms on 1 September 1945, including 110 generals; the following were seized: 861 airplanes, 372 tanks, 1,432 guns, 379 locomotive engines, 9,122 railroad cars, and a number of depots containing food, military equipment and ammunition....

Vasilevskiy

Ivanov

Shikin

Original

TsAMO SSSR, f. 66, op. 178499, d. 9, ll. 336, 337

Document 15

From the Report of the Staff of the Pacific Fleet on a Sea Landing at the North Korean Port of Ch'ongjin During the Period From 12 to 17 August 1945

September 1945

Mounting an offensive, at 0100 hours on 9 August 1945, the forces of the 25th Army First DVF breached the defenses of Hunchun UR and, by the end of 11 August 1945, captured the city of Hunchun, crossed the Tumen-Ula River, and developed their offensive, with their main strikes aimed in the direction of Oidzio-Yanji, facing units of the Honchon UR, the 112th pd and police units...

The fleet commander decided to land forces in the port of Seisin, without slowing the pace of offensive operations in the systematic seizure of ports of Yuki and Rasin. The objectives were the following:

1. Cut off the enemy's withdrawal to the south by depriving him of the possibility of using the port in concentrating his forces and evacuating ordnance.

2. Secure a bridgehead for Red Army units for operations against the Ranan fortified area and, by creating an operational base for the navy in North Korean ports, protect the flank of the Primore Army.

3. Create a maneuvering base for the light forces of the fleet in the port of Seisin to ensure the more efficient utilization of combat facilities with limited radius of action....

With the landing of units of the 13th brmp at the port of Seisin, the enemy facing the fronts of the First and Third sr 355th bmp was particularly active in an effort to surround and destroy them. However, the simultaneous landing and decisive actions of units of the 13th brmp, the assault groups in particular, deprived the enemy of this opportunity....

The successful landing was made possible thanks to the suddenness, decisiveness and speed of action of all participating forces, the timely concentration of the main landing forces in the area of combat operations, the proper understanding by commanders of all ranks of their assignments and the efficiently organized control of units operating along the coast and of the overall landing operation as well as the good organization of the interaction among all forces participating in this operation....

Vice Admiral A. Frolov, Chief of Staff of the Pacific Fleet

Captain 1st Rank N. Tsirulnikov, Chief of Operative Section of the Naval Staff

"Otnosheniya Sovetskogo Soyuza s Narodnoy Koreyey. 1945-1980. Dokumenty i Materialy" [Relations Between the Soviet Union and People's Korea, 1945-1980. Documents and Materials]. Nauka, Moscow, 1981, pp 15-16.

FOOTNOTES

1. Similar directives on completing the preparations for the offensive operations were issued by Supreme Command Headquarters to the commanders of the forces of the Transbaykal Front and the Primore Group of Forces.
2. By Supreme Command Headquarters directives, dated 2 August 1945, the Primore Group of Forces and the Far Eastern Front were renamed First and Second Far Eastern Fronts, respectively, as of 5 August.
3. Similar directives on the initiation of combat operations were issued on 7 August 1945 to the commanders of the forces of the First and Second Far Eastern fronts and the commander of the Pacific Fleet.
4. A. G. Kravchenko, colonel general of tank troops, commander of the Sixth Guards Tank Army.
5. A. I. Danilov, lieutenant general, commander of the 17th Army.
6. I. I. Lyudnikov, colonel general, commander of the 39th Army.
7. A. A. Luchinskiy, lieutenant general, commander of the 36th Army.
8. D. S. Leonov, lieutenant general, member of the Military Council of the Second Far Eastern Front.

9. F. I. Shevchenko, lieutenant general, chief of staff of the Second Far Eastern Front.
10. Similar combat orders on the creation of mobile detachments were issued to the commanders of the 17th and 53rd armies and the group of forces of the MNRA.
11. M. V. Zakharov, army general, chief of staff of the Transbaykal Front.
12. A. D. Pritula, major general, chief of the Political Department of the Staff of the Transbaykal Front. Landing with the forces in Mukden (Shenyang) on 19 August 1945, he met with General Ushiroku Dzyun, commander of the Third Front of the Japanese Army, to discuss the surrender. The Japanese general submitted data on the number of Japanese forces, deployment of units and availability of weapons and ammunition.
13. I. T. Artemenko, colonel, chief of the department of operative administration of the front staff. He flew into Changchun on 19 August 1945 and met with General Yamada, commander of the Kwantung army, at the army's headquarters and presented an ultimatum on unconditional surrender. After a brief discussion, realizing the total futility of prolonging the discussion, at 1410 hours on 19 August General Yamada signed the act of surrender. The general and Manchurian Prime Minister Zhang Jing-Huei informed the population on the surrender in a radio address.
14. N. O. Pavlovskiy, lieutenant general, chief of the operative administration of the staff of the Transbaykal Front.
15. J. A. Shelakhov, major general, deputy chief of staff of the First Far Eastern Front.
16. M. G. Yakovenko, rear admiral, member of the Military Council of the Amur Military Flotilla.
17. Vasilev, pseudonym of A. M. Vasilevskiy.
18. Semenov, pseudonym of J. V. Stalin.
19. Morozov, pseudonym of R. Ya. Malinovskiy.
20. Zolotov, pseudonym of M. V. Zakharov.

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FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY

ON THE PATH TO ACHIEVEMENTS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 85 (signed to press 14 Aug 85) pp 93-101

[Article by Ye. Glazunov, written on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the victory of the August Revolution in Vietnam]

[Text] The birth of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam--the first truly people's government in the country's history--was proclaimed 40 years ago by Ho Chi Minh, the great son of the Vietnamese people, in the name of the provisional government, at a 500,000-strong meeting held in Hanoi on 2 September 1945.

The establishment of a state of workers and peasants on Vietnamese soil marked an end to an entire historical period in Vietnam's national liberation movement, a period noted by victories and defeats and the sacrifices of hundreds of thousands of fighters for the freedom of their homeland.

The Vietnamese revolution is the coeval of the victory of the peoples over the dark forces of fascism and Japanese militarism. Forty years ago, when the victorious volleys fired in Europe had died away, and when under the strikes of the allied forces militaristic Japan was on the brink of defeat, exceptionally favorable internal and external circumstances had appeared for the revolutionary forces in Vietnam. The Communist Party of Indochina did not fail to make use of the situation which, as Ho Chi Minh figuratively said, takes place "once in a thousand years," and led the toiling masses and all the people to armed uprisings. The dawn of a new life rose over this ancient land. This unwittingly reminds us of Ho Chi Minh's vivid lines, which read that "sometimes chance introduces a poetic note into great historical events: the volleys from the Battleship "Aurora," which means "morning dawn," which announced the beginning of the Great October Revolution also announced the advent of the dawn of mankind" (Ho Chi Minh. "O Lenine, Leninizme i Nerushimoy Sovetsko-Vietnamskoy Druzhbe" [On Lenin, Leninism and the Inviolable Soviet-Vietnamese Friendship]. Moscow, 1970, p 274). From the spark of the Russian Revolution the flames of the liberation struggle spread throughout the world, including Vietnam, bringing victory to the mutinied people.

The August revolution proved that only a Marxist-Leninist party, armed with the most progressive theory of the contemporary epoch, could bring a better future to the fighting people. "The victory of the August 1945 revolution," Ho Chi Minh pointed out, "was a victory for the Leninist doctrine in the first national liberation revolution in a colonial country." Elsewhere he emphasized that "the defeat of the Hitlerite fascists and Japanese militarists by the Soviet army was the factor which contributed the most to our victory in August 1945" (ibid., pp 212, 114-115). The international nature of the Vietnamese revolution was also manifested in the fact that it was also considered by the CP of Vietnam as an inseparable part of the world revolutionary movement.

Although winning with relative ease by virtue of the existing favorable and domestic and foreign circumstances of the time, the August revolution was subsequently forced to experience a number of severe trials in the course of which it proved the tremendous potential of the people's masses rising to the defense of their own system. The experience of Vietnam proves that the proletariat, guided by the Marxist-Leninist party, is the most consistent fighter for the national and social liberation of its own country and people.

Today, in accordance with the CPV Central Committee decree, a widespread movement has developed in the republic in honor of this noteworthy anniversary. The working people are assuming greater socialist obligations on the implementation of the resolutions of the Fifth CPV Congress. The party and the public organizations are engaged in extensive explanatory work among the masses.

After severe trials and long years of confrontation with the French colonizers, followed by the American imperialists, which ended in 1975 with a historical victory--the liberation of South Vietnam and the reunification of the homeland--the working people of the SRV [Socialist Republic of Vietnam] undertook the creation of the material and technical foundations of socialism on the scale of the entire country. In resolving the problems related to this fact, the CPV is guided by the Leninist theory that the conversion of economically backward countries to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development, should be of a gradual, step by step nature, and undergo a number of intermediary stages in the course of which only specific political, economic and sociocultural assignments are implemented. Bearing in mind that precapitalist, feudal and even early feudal relations and traditions in such countries remain quite strong, the shaping and establishment of a new social system and making general democratic changes in the economic, ideological and cultural areas take place not directly with the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat but in the course of the systematic development of the transitional forms of state power.

The reunification of the country and the proclamation of the founding of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in July 1976 inaugurated a new chapter in the age-old history of the Vietnamese people and prepared favorable prerequisites for the growth of the national people's democratic revolution into a socialist revolution on a national scale. However, the cost of victory was high: hundreds of plants and factories, thousands of kilometers of railroad tracks and highways and millions of square meters of housing were destroyed. Some 3

million Vietnamese laid their heads on the altar of victory defending the freedom and independence of the homeland.

The main trends in the restoration and upsurge of the national economy and the integration between the two parts of the country, which had developed in diametrically opposite directions over a long period of time, as well as the radical reorganization of the republic's entire socioeconomic life in the new historical stage were formulated at the 4th Party Congress (December 1976). The communist forum emphasized that with the liberation of the south and the reunification, "the Vietnamese revolution had entered a new stage: the stage of independence of the entire country and its unity, a stage at which the only strategic task to be resolved was the implementation of the socialist revolution and the fast, confident and firm progress toward socialism." The main feature of this stage is that Vietnam is on the path of a direct transition to socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage. This, the congress emphasized, was a "most important feature which identifies the essence of the process of the socialist revolution in our country and determines the main content of this process." It explains many of the difficulties encountered by Vietnam and proves that the radical reorganization of all aspects of life cannot occur within a historically short time.

The five-year plan, the directives for which were approved at the 4th CPV Congress, was carried out in 1976-1980 under exceptionally difficult circumstances. On the one hand, it was necessary rapidly to organize political, economic and social life in the south and to reorganize it on a new socialist basis; on the other, it was necessary to restore as rapidly as possible industrial enterprises, bridges, roads and housing in the north, which had been destroyed in the war. At the same time, the country had to resist the provocations of the Pol Pot forces on the Vietnamese-Cambodian border and repel Chinese expansionist aggression in the spring of 1979. Despite all such difficulties, led by their party, the working class and the peasantry were able to surmount many of the difficult consequences of the lengthy war and resolve a set of most urgent socioeconomic problems, as well as take a new step toward the creation of a material and technical foundation for socialism. Compared with 1975, by 1980 the national income had increased by 13 percent; gross industrial output had increased by 13 percent and agriculture by 19 percent. By the end of the five-year plan, the socialist sector accounted for some 60 percent of the social product and almost 50 percent of the national income. The republic had achieved substantial successes in the areas of culture, science, public education and health care on the basis of its economic upsurge.

The reorganization of private capitalist industry and trade and petty commodity output in town and country was of particular importance in shaping and developing socialist production relations in the southern part of Vietnam. Substantial results were achieved in resolving this very difficult and comprehensive problem over the past 5 years; they were a prerequisite for the elimination of the nonsocialist system in the national economy in subsequent years. The experience of the CPV in this area is of basic international significance, for it not only gives an answer to a number of questions related to the transitional period but also convincingly proves the universal nature of Lenin's doctrine of state capitalism and peasant cooperatives, while taking

into consideration national specifics and the historical and other features of the situation in which such processes have taken and continue to take place. Lenin repeatedly noted that in a country with a small peasant element, cooperatives allow the peasants to convert to a new order "through the simplest, easiest and most accessible way for the peasant" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 45, p 370).

Thanks to the heroic toil of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, during the last five-year plan tremendous changes took place in Vietnam. They were codified in the SRV Constitution, which was adopted by the National Assembly in December 1980. Article 2 of the Fundamental Law emphasizes that the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is a state of proletarian dictatorship, the political base of which is the alliance between workers and peasants, under the leading role of the working class.

The CPV Central Committee could state at the Fifth Party Congress, in March 1982, with full justification that "the past 5 years have entered the history of our people as a period of great victories for the Vietnamese revolution. Having surmounted numerous difficulties, our people led the Vietnamese revolution to new, stronger strategic lines and created an even more powerful potential for the defense of the fatherland and the successful building of socialism."

Although it rated past accomplishments highly, the 5th Congress also subjected to comprehensive critical analysis the shortcomings allowed in the course of the implementation of the resolutions of the preceding congress as well as the errors stemming from the complexity of leading toward socialism a country in the economy of which petty production predominated, and from the tremendous scale of the economic and social upheavals created by the lengthy war.

In summing up experience in building socialism in the preceding years, the 5th CPV Congress concluded that laying the material and technical foundations for socialism in Vietnam would undergo several stages. The first, through the year 1990, would be the initial stage in creating material and organizational prerequisites for subsequent wide-scale socialist industrialization. During this period prime attention is to be paid to the development of agricultural production, increasing the production of consumer goods and the country's export potential, accelerating scientific and technical progress in all economic sectors and completing the reorganization of the nonsocialist segments of the economy.

In the current five-year plan (1981-1985) the SRV working people achieved impressive successes in resolving these difficult problems. A large number of major steps were taken aimed at the further upsurge of the country's production forces, strengthening the material and technical foundations for socialism and consolidating the new socialist production relations. One such step was the economic reform which was carried out in the country in accordance with the resolutions of the 5th Party Congress. Its essence is perfecting state planning while simultaneously expanding the initiative of provinces and industrial enterprises, reorganizing the economic management mechanism from top to bottom and ensuring the more extensive and active use of economic levers in managing the national economy. In order to encourage the

efficient utilization of inner resources by enterprises, their plan now consists of two parts: assignments on commodity output, issued by the government and backed by centralized material resources, and assignments on the production of commodities for which the enterprises must find their own reserves.

In addition to the use of the piece-rate wage system in industry, the increased economic autonomy of the enterprises yielded initial results: the coefficient of utilization of fixed capital increased; raw and other materials began to be used more economically; output increased and so did the income of workers and employees. Problems of further improvements in economic management were comprehensively discussed at the CPV Central Committee Plenum in July 1984 and at a number of meetings and conferences held in the various areas of the republic recently.

Great attention was paid to such problems at the 8th CPV Central Committee Plenum (June 1985), at which the results of the republic's economic development in the 10 years since the liberation of South Vietnam were discussed, and ways were earmarked for the further advancement of the entire national economic mechanism and the restructuring of the price and wage systems.

Measures to intensify agricultural output were implemented within the framework of the general program for improving the entire state mechanism. In September 1981 the SRV government substantially increased purchase prices of basic farm crops (by an average factor of 5). At the same time, the prices of means of production and labor tools sold by the state to agricultural cooperatives were increased. This made the peasants more interested in increasing output and selling their products to the state. The extensive application of a new system of labor organization and wages was undertaken in agriculture in 1981, based on the end product, as a result of which the brigade contracting order became widespread in the Vietnamese countryside. By the end of 1983 this system was being applied in nearly 90 percent of the republic's agricultural cooperatives. Its use contributed to the substantial increase in labor productivity and increased the productivity of agricultural output. The cultivation of vegetables and industrial crops increased and animal husbandry developed further.

Agricultural upsurge was also helped by the increased pace of cooperativization of the South Vietnamese peasantry. As a result of the extensive work done by local party and state bodies, by the end of 1984 52 percent of peasant farms in South Vietnam, accounting for 47 percent of the cultivated area in this zone, had joined cooperatives of various types.

Noteworthy changes occurred in industry as well in the course of this five-year plan. From 1981 to 1984 the average annual growth rates of gross output were about 13.6 percent as compared to 2.5 percent during the previous 5-year period. Leading sectors, such as machine building and the metal-processing industry (average annual growth rates of 21.5 percent), an 18 percent growth in the chemical and 22.7 percent growth in the food industries, developed particularly rapidly. During that period the production of electric power, chemical fertilizers, cement and some machine-building products increased.

The sixth session of the SRV National Assembly (December 1984) noted that industry had begun to satisfy the needs of agriculture for means of production more fully and that the production of consumer goods had increased. The party and the government are paying great attention to the development of new economic areas, where tens of state farms, agricultural cooperatives and industrial enterprises have already been created. During the first half of this year alone, some 300,000 people moved into the new areas where more than 1 million volunteers are already working.

The overall upsurge of the country's economy was helped by the growth of industry and agricultural output: GNP average annual growth rates were 7.8 percent in 1981-1983, compared with 1 percent in 1976-1980. Compared with 1983, the 1984 country's national income was 5.5 percent higher.

The SRV faces major tasks during this anniversary year as well. Its plan calls for producing 19 million tons of food crops (in terms of rice). The national income will be increased by 6.9 percent, the volume of gross industrial output by 6.7 percent and agriculture by 7.8 percent compared with the previous year. Labor productivity will increase by 6 percent in industry, 8 percent in construction and 5 percent in transportation.

The scale of housing and cultural construction is expanding on the basis of industrial and agricultural upsurge; a new step has been taken in the development of culture, the arts and health care. Naturally, by no means have all problems been resolved and, as in the past, a number of difficulties remain. The reasons which are hindering the stabilization and radical improvements in the situation in trade have not been entirely eliminated. This is significantly affecting all aspects of socioeconomic life. However, the party is aware of such problems and difficulties and is harnessing the working people for their elimination.

While working to resolve domestic problems, the SRV is forced, at the same time, to pay constant attention to strengthening its defense and ensuring the safety of its borders. Its current policy, based on the very essence of the socialist system, is aimed at strengthening peace and friendship with all peoples on our planet and creating favorable foreign political conditions for the restoration and development of its economy and culture and for an upsurge in the material well-being of the working people. The main objectives of SRV foreign policy were defined at the latest party congresses and legislatively codified in the republic's constitution. Article 14 of the Fundamental Law stipulates that Vietnam will continue to strengthen fraternal friendship and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist community and with its closest neighbors, Laos and Cambodia, on the basis of the inviolable principles of Marxist-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. This line was reasserted at the Fifth CPV Congress, which emphasized that "strengthening the ties of friendship and broadening relations of cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism is a task of prime importance in the foreign policy" of the CPV and SRV. These relations are based on the friendship and cooperation treaties initialed between 1977 and 1984 by Vietnam, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union, the GDR, Bulgaria, Mongolia, Cuba, Hungary, Laos and Czechoslovakia, on the other. The conclusion of the treaties and the joining of CEMA by Vietnam

in June 1978 raised relations between Vietnam and the fraternal socialist countries to a qualitatively new and higher level.

Comprehensive Vietnamese-Soviet relations became the foundations of SRV foreign policy. Thanks to the efforts of our parties and peoples, they have become an inseparable part of the social life of the two countries. As Comrade M. S. Gorbachev, who headed the CPSU delegation to the 5th CPV Congress, noted, "Soviet-Vietnamese relations are built on the strongest possible and most honest principles known to history: the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. Their firm foundation is the 1978 Friendship and Cooperation Treaty and the fraternal inviolable friendship between our communist parties is the power which cements these relations."

The long-term program for economic and scientific and technical cooperation, which was initialed in Hanoi in October 1983 during the visit to the SRV of a Soviet party and government delegation, headed by Comrade G. A. Aliyev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, is making a great contribution to the intensification of relations between our two countries. The program allows both countries to concentrate their efforts, on a planned scientific basis, on the development of a number of priority sectors of the SRV national economy, such as agriculture, fuel and energy, metallurgy, transportation, machine building, etc., and to enhance the level of production cooperation.

The implementation of this program helps substantially to upgrade the quality and efficiency of Soviet-Vietnamese relations. It is important to emphasize its great significance also because last July our countries extensively celebrated the 30th anniversary of the signing of the first Soviet-Vietnamese agreement on economic cooperation. At that time, in July 1955, the joint communique issued on the visit of a Vietnamese governmental delegation headed by Ho Chi Minh to the USSR, stipulated that the Soviet government "allocated 400 million rubles in aid for the purpose of improving the living standards of the population and restoring the economy of the DRV, including the rebuilding and construction of 25 industrial and communal enterprises." It further noted that the Soviet side will give fraternal Vietnam assistance in training Vietnamese specialists in the Soviet higher and secondary technical schools and in organizing the training of specialists in Vietnamese schools.

Our economic and scientific and technical relations have expanded immeasurably in the past decades. Both sides have acquired rich experience. During that period, with the technical assistance of the Soviet Union, the SRV was able to restore, reconstruct or build anew more than 200 important national economic projects. This five-year plan, the volume of Soviet technical assistance to fraternal Vietnam will more than double compared to the preceding 5-year period. Today the USSR is participating in the building or planning of yet another 100 different projects. They include large hydro- and thermoelectric power plants, plants, factories, and transportation and cultural-consumer projects. The completion of such enterprises will radically improve power supplies to cities and villages and will enable us to make more efficient use of production capacities in industry and agriculture and contribute to improving the material and spiritual life of working people in the SRV.

Particularly noteworthy is Vetsovpetro, a joint Soviet-Vietnamese enterprise for surveying and extracting petroleum and natural gas on the SRV continental shelf. As a result of extensive work by thousands of Vietnamese and Soviet specialists and active participation of dozens of different design organizations and industrial enterprises of the two countries, today Vungtau, a giant of this new Vietnamese economic sector, is rising in the once quiet small resort town. We can already say that a number of difficulties of the organizational period have been surmounted and that both countries have gained a great deal of useful experience in cooperating in and resolving entirely new, difficult and interesting problems. The first petroleum was obtained from the shelf in May 1984.

The training of national cadres in the USSR for the different SRV economic sectors plays an important role in Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation through which more than 60,000 highly skilled specialists have been trained in Soviet educational institutions for work in Vietnam, including about 17,000 in higher schools. During that time thousands of Vietnamese citizens defended their dissertations in the Soviet Union, becoming candidates or doctors of sciences. Graduates from Soviet schools work in the various SRV economic sectors. They include ministers, heads of large enterprises, party, state and economic officials, scientists and teachers in higher and secondary schools.

The training of skilled workers for Vietnam at Soviet enterprises has become a new area in Soviet Vietnamese cooperation. At the present time, about 20,000 young Vietnamese men and women are working in Soviet plants and factories in almost 30 USSR krays and oblasts. After completing their training and practice, they return to the homeland where they make a worthy contribution to building socialism in Vietnam while others replace them in the Soviet Union in search of skill and knowledge. This is a reflection of the internationalism of the CPSU and the Soviet people, who follow with most sincere interest the successes of the fraternal people and help in resolving Vietnam's problems.

The Days of SRV Culture, which were celebrated last May in the Soviet Union, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the victory of the August Revolution and the proclamation of the country's independence, became an important event in the life of our people. This was the first time that the Vietnamese friends displayed their cultural and artistic achievements abroad so extensively. This major celebration, which took place in tens of Soviet cities, proved the profoundly positive influence which cultural relations had on the spiritual rapprochement among peoples. We discovered new Vietnamese writers, composers and masters of the graphic and applied arts.

The visit which a party-governmental SRV delegation, headed by Comrade Le Duan, CPV Central Committee general secretary, paid to the Soviet Union in June-July 1985, was a vivid demonstration of the unbreakable friendship and cooperation between our two parties and peoples. In welcoming the guests from fraternal Vietnam, Comrad M. S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, said in his speech at the dinner in honor of the delegation: "I believe that we can be satisfied with the development of Soviet-Vietnamese relations. With a reliable foundation, such as the Friendship and Cooperation Treaty, they have now reached a high level and become an inseparable part of the social life of our two countries."

The talks, which took place in an atmosphere of friendship and reciprocal understanding, proved the joint resolve of the countries to continue comprehensively to intensify and improve all-round relations. Thorough discussions were held on the implementation of the long-term program for the development of economic and scientific and technical cooperation, which had been initialed in Hanoi in October 1983; ways of upgrading the efficiency of cooperation and perfecting the entire set of bilateral economic and scientific and technical relations on a long-term planned basis, were earmarked.

In noting the achievements of the Vietnamese people in all sectors of socialist construction, Comrade Le Duan emphasized that they are inseparably related to the effective and comprehensive aid of the Soviet Union. "The Soviet Union," he said, "has been the invariable example to Vietnam in the revolutionary struggle. It is a source of inspiration in building the new life, a symbol of the beautiful future and the embodiment of proletarian internationalism.... We warmly thank our Soviet brothers-- workers, kolkhoz members, engineers, construction workers, teachers, scientists and artists-- for everything they have done and are continuing to do for Vietnam."

The joint Soviet-Vietnamese declaration gave a high rating to relations between the two parties and countries. This important document, which inaugurated a new stage in the cooperation between the USSR and the SRV, notes that its core is the tie between the CPSU and the CPV, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. "The two sides will continue tirelessly to strengthen the ties of close friendship and unity between the CPSU and the CPV. Such is the principled and invariable line of the CPSU and the CPV and the Soviet Union and Vietnam, reflecting the will and expectations of the peoples of the two countries."

The Soviet-Vietnamese friendship meeting held on the inauguration of the Ho Chi Minh monument to this outstanding leader of the international communist and national liberation movement and great son of the Vietnamese people, in Moscow, triggered a broad response in the Soviet Union. As Comrade Le Duan emphasized at the meeting, the monument of V. I. Lenin in Hanoi and that of Ho Chi Minh in Moscow will "bring our peoples even closer and always remind us of the need to strengthen solidarity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism and inspire us to reach new peaks in building a bright future and a splendid life for present and future generations."

In the course of the talks the full unity of views and assessments of the contemporary international situation were reasserted. Both sides emphasized the need for firmly counteracting the aggressive intrigues of U.S. imperialists and other reactionary forces in the Asian-Pacific area. The Soviet side expressed its firm support of the efforts of the SRV, Laos and Cambodia, aimed at converting Southeast Asia into a zone of peace and good-neighborly relations.

The Soviet people welcomed the results of the visit of the envoys of fraternal Vietnam and express their firm confidence that they will contribute to the further intensification of cooperation between our two nations and peoples.

The CPV is a tried detachment of the world worker and national-liberation movements. It actively contributes to strengthening the combat unity among all revolutionary forces in the name of peace and security on earth. Together with the other members of the socialist community, the SRV is systematically struggling for detente and against all attempts by imperialism and reactionary forces to take the world to the brink of nuclear catastrophe.

The consistently internationalist nature of Vietnam's foreign policy is clearly manifested in its relations with Laos and Cambodia. The comprehensive unity among the three fraternal countries will enable them to resolve more successfully a number of difficult problems inherited from history and the war and to surmount major difficulties related to the conversion to socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage of development, and actively counteract the sallies of hostile forces which are trying to hinder the progress of the three Indochinese countries toward building a new society.

The summit meeting held by the leaders of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia in February 1983 provided a powerful impetus to the development of trilateral relations. The essential trends of political, economic, scientific and technical and cultural cooperation were defined at the meeting. Since then a widespread mechanism of interaction among these countries has been developed and is actively functioning and having a great positive influence on upgrading the efficiency of relations among Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

The regularly convened (biannual) conferences of ministers of foreign affairs of the three countries are a major instrument in the political cooperation among them. The latest 10th meeting of the heads of the foreign policy departments, which took place in January 1985, reasserted the readiness of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia to resolve all problems through talks. This meeting proved yet once again that the fraternal countries in Indochina are consistently promoting peace on earth and the creation of a zone of peace, stability and good neighborly relations in Southeast Asia. This policy is increasingly gaining the approval of the broad political circles in Asia and the entire progressive public as reflected, in particular, at the 2nd Vietnamese-Indonesian seminar "For Peace, Stability, and Friendship in Southeast Asia," which was held in Djakarta in February 1985.

Looking back, the Vietnamese communists can proudly say, with full justification, that dozens of obstructions left behind by history have been surmounted and many incredibly difficult problems resolved and outstanding successes achieved in all sectors of building socialism. The Vietnamese people are welcoming the anniversary of their republic with new labor accomplishments. As in the past, socialist Vietnam is a bridgehead of peace, making a constructive contribution to the struggle waged by all progressive forces for mankind's happy future.

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ON SOCIALIST TRACKS

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[Article by A. Mineyev]

[Text] Ho Chi Minh City - Moscow--Hundreds of big covered sampans and slim motor and pleasure boats loaded with rice are busily maneuvered around the wooden platforms and docks of Can Tho; trucks loaded with live pigs are waiting their turn at the ferryboat, to cross the widest branch of the Mekong Delta--Hau Giang; tropical fruits and gifts of the river and the sea abound in the noisy market. It is as though the generosity of this rich area has concentrated on Can Tho, the "capital of the Mekong Delta."

"To be sure, the land and the water of the delta, particularly in Hau Giang Province, are rich, said Vu Dinh Lieu, now deputy chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers, but at that time, in 1982, on the day of our first meeting, secretary of the Hau Giang Province Committee of the CP of Vietnam, confirming my observations. This wealth, however, belonged to the colonial plantation owners and the local landlords. The overwhelming majority of peasants were landless. They either leased the land or worked as farm hands.

"We, communists, set ourselves the task of making the people the true master of the land," he went on to say. "Our party, headed by Ho Chi Minh, saw the way to this objective through the implementation of Lenin's ideas of the socialist revolution. Fascist Germany and militaristic Japan were defeated in 1945, a defeat in which the Soviet Union played a decisive role. We profited from the favorable situation which developed as a result of the victory, made the August Revolution, seized the power in the country and undertook to make democratic changes, including in the countryside. Here, in the south, the return of the colonizers hindered the furthering of the revolutionary process. However, even during the war of resistance we tried to make an agrarian reform. By 1950 plantation and estate land ownership had been eliminated and the land had been distributed to the landless peasants. Subsequently, the regime of U.S. puppets, in the zone under its control, reduced the results of the reform virtually to naught, and it was only after 1975, with the total liberation of South Vietnam, that we were able to complete it. I personally fought the war of resistance in these areas and headed propaganda work, and I know that Lenin's ideas of the socialist reorganization of the countryside,

the living example of the land of the soviets and the initial successes of the cooperated peasantry of North Vietnam were the most convincing means of agitation among the peasant masses in favor of revolution."

In the northern part of Vietnam, collectivization was completed in its essential features by 1960. It changed the aspect of the North Vietnamese countryside. The traditional age-old yearning of the Vietnamese for unity and mutual aid in the struggle against the elements and building of irrigation systems assumed a new content in the large farms. Joint labor helped raise the number of annual crops to three, organize labor specialization and division within the farms, develop the crafts and allow part of the manpower from the old rice-growing areas to undertake the development of new economic regions. For the first time hunger was eliminated. The cooperatives became the nuclei of the cultural revolution in the countryside and helped in the elimination of illiteracy and the creation of a truly national health care network.

The cooperated peasantry became the reliable support, strong rear and steady source of forces for the war of resistance to the American aggressors and in the struggle for the liberation of South Vietnam. The CPV highly rated collectivization as one of the decisive factors in the great victory achieved by the Vietnamese people of 1975, which led to the establishment of a single Vietnam.

South Vietnam was completely liberated in 1975. One year later the political unification of the country took place and the socialist reorganization of the economy in the south was put on the agenda of the revolution.

Let us begin with a little geography. That half of the country which was known as South Vietnam until 1976 begins at Ben Hay River, on the 17th Parallel. In our many trips all over that part of the country, I never ceased to admire the variety of landscapes, economic conditions and local color in such a relatively small territory. Today the concept of "South Vietnam" has already lost its former political meaning, for the former boundary along the Ben Hay River no longer separates anything. Ben Hay district, in (Binhthien) Province lies on both sides of the river, and so does the (Chungvo) historical area, which means "central part." Until the unification, the northern part of (Chungvo) was part of the DRV, for which reason we now refer to the central and southern parts of this area. They stretch for nearly a thousand kilometers along the coast. The narrow plain is limited by mountains on the West. Vietnamese settled and developed these areas between the 11th and 17th centuries. This area has a great deal in common with the cradle of the Vietnamese nation--the Red River Delta. In both areas per capita arable land is less than 800 square meters. Natural conditions here are harsh and typhoons frequently hit this coast; rain falls most of the year and in spring the land burns under the hot and dry "Lao wind." It is here that patriarchal community traditions had been kept the longest in Vietnam. No large estate farming developed, the kulak stratum was insignificant and there were few landless families. Hunger was a frequent visitor.

The strictly southern part of Vietnam, consisting primarily of the Nam Bo Plain, is the most important agricultural area in the country. On the way to

Ho Chi Minh City, from the north or the east, for 150 to 200 kilometers the road goes through fertile red earth and cuts across a green corridor of rubber plantations and mango, durian, rambutan and other tropical fruit gardens. Nam Bo is the main producer of Vietnam's natural rubber and industrial crops. Beyond Ho Chi Minh City begins the flat plain of the Mekong Delta, splintered by thousands of rivers, streams and canals. It covers an area of 4 million hectares. It is bigger than the Red River delta, which is the main rice granary of the north, by a factor of four, although the density of the population is one-third that of the Red River area. The Mekong delta accounts for nearly one-half of Vietnam's rice crop. It has the most favorable climate and river system in the country.

I found in one of my travel notebooks an entry on my first brief impression of the just-liberated South Vietnam, dated April-May 1975: "Compared to the north, the cities are rich but the devastated countryside is quite poor." However, neither the poverty of the countryside nor the apparent "prosperity" of the cities reflected the characteristics of natural conditions or the level of development of production forces. American aggression and 3 decades of almost uninterrupted wars turned South Vietnam's socioeconomic structure upside down. Not one of these areas was spared from the ravages of the war. As a result of combat operations, bombings, the deadly "orange rain" of toxic substances, efforts to concentrate the rural population in so-called "strategic hamlets," the growth of parasite cities around the largest American military bases and the forced relocation of the civilian population had raised the share of the nonfarming population in this previously agrarian country to the 40 percent level.

Chung Bo had been affected by the war most of all. It was precisely there, in Da Nang and its surroundings, that I was stricken in the spring of 1975 by the devastation of the countryside and the cities which had spread around the military bases. For example, the American aggressors and the Saigon executioners had rased from the face of the earth through bombing, shelling, fire or simply bulldozing 97 of the 114 hamlets in Dien Ban district; for many years 9,000 of the 12,000 hectares of arable land here had remained covered in weeds; 13,600 district people perished and most of the living were forced to seek shelter and jobs in Da Nang and Hue.

The picture was similar in the neighboring Ngia Binh Province, in Shon Tinh District, where the My Lai community, sadly known the world over, is located.

The destructive influence of the war did not spare the rich Nam Bo land. Before the American aggression, the Mekong Delta not only fed all of South Vietnam but also produced some 1 million tons of grain for export annually. Starting with 1965, however, when the U.S. armed forces began direct military operations in Vietnam, the regime in Saigon was forced to import as much as 750,000 tons of food annually.

That is why during the first years after the liberation, the most urgent task was to breathe new life into the countryside, take the peasants back to their native areas, replot long-neglected land and clear it of the deadly pollution of war--unexploded bombs, shells and mines and barbed wire.

About 700,000 people returned to their native areas from the crowded cities in Quang Nam-Da Nang Province. At that time the communists raised a slogan traced back to the ancient Vietnamese tradition of mutual aid: "Share the rice, yield clothing." The peasants helped one another with seeds and draft cattle; they jointly built homes and cleared and dug canals. The redistribution of land in favor of the landless was carried out under the same slogan. In the majority of cases, owners of surplus land surrendered it voluntarily and the land was confiscated only from owners of landed estates and former officials in the puppet administration. In Chung Bo the redistribution of the land was completed as early as 1979.

"The return to the land was a truly revolutionary upsurge of the broad masses," recalls Phan Van Ba, chairman of the Dien Banh district people's committee. "Difficulties united the people and the victory over the enemy, which had put an end to the ordeals of wartime, instilled faith in the revolutionary system, in the communists. Everyone started on an equal footing as they arrived at the barren sites. In 1976 we received from the north 560 tons of rice as aid to our district population. We explained to the peasants that this was grain from cooperative fields and that the peasantry in the north was fraternally sharing with those who were only beginning to build a new life under difficult circumstances.

We started not even with housing but with organizing the rice paddies and digging canals; 480 people were killed from unexploded mines and shells. The people themselves aspired to collective work, for which reason settlements were planned and built as the homesteads of future cooperatives.

On the basis of the actual situation, the party concluded that conditions for cooperativization had ripened in the countryside. A broad agricultural collectivization campaign was mounted in 1978, initially based on Chung Bo Province, where the experience of the north could be applied more easily because of similarity of conditions. It was carried out in two forms: the creation of cooperatives--relatively large farms in which rice fields and other basic means of production had become socialized, and distribution was based on labor exclusively, and the organization of production brigades, which were much smaller than the cooperatives and in which draft animals and labor tools remained private property and earnings were based both on the amount of labor and land contributed to the farm.

In its 14 April 1978 decree, the CPV Central Committee Politburo defined the basic principles of the cooperativization campaign: it was to be energetic and fast yet, also qualitative and reliable, converting from lower to higher forms and from small to large scale, according to the conditions of the specific areas, on the basis of voluntary participation, mutual advantages and democracy.

The cooperativization of the countryside in Chung Bo took place with the active participation of the broadest possible peasant masses and was completed in its main lines in a single year.

At the start of 1980, the higher level cooperatives, which predominated in the coastal area of the plain, and the production brigades, which had become the

main form of cooperation in the Central Plateau, merged within the collective sector 87 percent of the farmsteads and 82 percent of the arable land.

The advantages of collective farming appeared after no more than two or three harvests. A study made soon afterwards proved that approximately 60 percent of the peasants who had joined cooperatives and brigades earned more than the private farmers. No more than 5-10 percent of the families earned a lesser income. This was entirely natural, for these were former prosperous peasants who had previously used hired labor and leased their land. The majority of the peasants benefitted from the collectivization from the very beginning. Above all, however, a stable increase in labor productivity and rice harvests was noted. For the first time, the farms became profitable and state procurements accounted for one-quarter of the grain harvest.

Ten years later, returning to Dien Ban District, near Da Nang, where I had been appalled by the destruction of the rural areas in 1975, I saw the rich green rice fields and hamlet surrounded by walls of live bamboo. Nguyen Mhi, party organization secretary of the Dien Tho commune, invited us to the big hall of the rural club, explaining that no other premise suitable for a talk was available, for they had not gotten around yet to the building of offices. The secretary's rough-hewn desk, made of uneven planks, was in the club. It turned out that the premises also served as the grain storage warehouse.

"The warehouse premises are crowded and we have been unable to build new ones. Meanwhile, we are expecting a very rich spring crop. We have had to use the club temporarily."

The party secretary said that by the end of the war no more than 100 people of the present 10,000-strong population had remained in the community. They lived in earthen huts in two of the seven hamlets of the municipality. The Americans had bulldozed the other hamlets, chasing the peasants to Hue and Da Nang. It was hard to return to the neglected land. The people immediately began to work jointly and by 1977 800 families had formed the first three cooperatives. Another cooperative was set up a year later.

The Dien Tho Cooperative No 1 consists of 1,000 families, a total of 4,300 people, with 494 hectares in rice. Thanks to the widespread irrigation system built through joint efforts, the high-quality seeds obtained from the state and the use of insecticides and organic fertilizers, the cooperative was able to harvest three crops annually from virtually the entire area; currently it averages not 88 quintals, as in 1979, but 140 quintals of unhulled rice per year. No such indicators may be found even in the fertile Mekong Delta. Last year, in exchange for commodities and materials and on the basis of sale at incentive prices, the state received from this cooperative 1,000 tons of grain, or 1 ton per family.

We toured the farm. About half of the houses were made of bricks, with tiled roofs and well-cared-for garden plots. People had gathered around a small truck on the main street, near the radio transmitter, which had been built with public funds. Fat pigs were lying in oval-shaped bamboo-woven baskets. The peasants sell their private plot produce to district procurers. The cooperative threshing floor was busy. The village has five such threshing

floors, each one with its grain warehouse. It has two Belarus tractors, seven small two-wheel cultivators, a truck and a rice dryer. Kindergartens and a school had been built jointly. The rice fields receive their water from the district irrigation system in the building of which the Dien Tho population participated.

The Dien Tho No 1 Cooperative is one of the leading farms in the country. However, in Quang Nam-Da Nang Province alone about 10 such cooperatives exist. As a whole, the province has set records in rice growing. Yet, in the past, this was one of the poorest patriarchal-run parts of Vietnam and, furthermore, an area severely dislocated by the war.

The building of cooperatives has also developed in the main granary of the country--Nan Bo. The victory of the cooperative system in this part of Vietnam is of decisive importance in laying the foundation for socialism in the SRV. However, major difficulties were encountered the very first year of the creation of production brigades and cooperatives in the area. One of them was the terrible flooding of the Mekong Delta at the end of the 1978 rainy season. No other flood like it could be remembered even by the old residents. However, collectivization in Nan Bo was not hindered by the whims of nature alone.

Back in Ho Chi Minh City, after a trip around the Mekong Delta, I shared my impressions with Chan Than Suan, director of the southern branch of the Vietnamese Information Agency. The conversation with this admirable person, a communist, perfectly familiar with his native area, turned to the features of the countryside in this part of the country.

What distinguishes the Nan Bo peasant? Unquestionably, his expansive nature and generosity but also his independence. The traditions of collectivism in him are not so strong as in his compatriots in central and north Vietnam. The Mekong Delta was settled by people who were escaping the hunger and feudal oppression of the north, a sort of "Cossack freemen." There was lots of land and natural conditions were such as not to require of the "entire people" to build dikes and other irrigation systems. Whereas before collectivization the main figure in the north and center of Vietnam was that of the small landowning peasant, who barely managed to make ends meet, capitalism began to develop in the Nan Bo countryside, where profitable farming had existed for a long time and where more than half of the peasants belonged to a firm middle class, with a deeply rooted feeling for private property. They were not oppressors but it was difficult to talk such people into throwing in their lot with others.

Another characteristic of the South is that the struggle of the Vietnamese people had been waged for 30 years under the banner of national liberation and by no means were all rich and prosperous people on the side of the enemy. Some of them had even helped the revolution. The main method used in reorganizing them was example and persuasion and different ways were used only with those who openly opposed the party's policies.

It was interesting that in meeting various people among party and economic managers in three different provinces: Long An, (Khaulyang) and (Kenzyang), a

parallel was drawn independently between today's peasants inhabiting the Mekong Delta and the heroes of Sholokhov's "Virgin Land Upturned." Thoughts, doubts and fluctuations were similar. In general, interest in the history of rural collectivization in our country and the present of the Soviet rural workers is high. Comparisons are sought with local conditions and answers to domestic problems are looked for in Soviet experience.

As is the case with the other parts of the former South Vietnam, before undertaking cooperativization in Nan Bo the party concentrated on uprooting the vestiges of exploitation in the countryside and on land redistribution. In the largest province in the Mekong Delta, (Khauxyang)--the share of landless or small landowning farmers dropped from 40 to 10 percent between 1978 and 1981. However, under the conditions of a well-developed system of communications, which facilitates access of agricultural commodities to the market, the insufficient availability of labor tools and equipment, the social stratification in the villages did not stop.

A total of 80,000 hectares of land are under cultivation in the agricultural areas under Ho Chi Minh City administration. By the end of last year more than one-third of the local farm estates here were reorganized as cooperatives. Tho Dung, one of the managers of the agrarian department in this zone, described the complex history of the reorganization of the suburban countryside.

Collectivization actively developed here in 1978-1979. Ten experimental cooperatives and 871 production brigades, rallying more than one-half of the farmsteads and 41 percent of the arable area, were set up around Ho Chi Minh City. In Nan Bo agricultural cooperativization covered 33 percent of the farmsteads and 27 percent of the land. In the spring of 1980, however, a sharp decline and even a regress occurred in the movement. More than one-half of the production brigades broke up in the suburbs of Ho Chi Minh City and many of the rest existed on paper only. In other provinces in the Mekong Delta less than 10 percent of the peasant farms remained in the collective sector. What was the reason? The material and technical base and the cadres to manage the production brigades had not been sufficiently prepared; a system of relations between the socialist state and the peasant farms had not been formulated.

Meanwhile, the party had repeatedly reminded of the need for an accurate choice of the means and pace of reorganization, strictly consistent with the conditions prevailing in each specific area and at each specific time. In its 12 March 1980 issue, the newspaper NAN THAN noted that the experience acquired in other parts of the country had been initially applied in Nan Bo with insufficient flexibility. Specific conditions were not always taken fully into consideration and haste was applied. The high commodity average-size farms need more thorough preparations before joining a collective. The local party and economic cadres occasionally failed to realize the differences among preparatory, transitional and superior forms of cooperation. Reality proved that the optimal form of socialist reorganization of the countryside in Nan Bo during the transitional period was the production brigade.

I visited several such brigades and talked to the managers and the rank-and-file peasants. This is what they thought: the middle peasant in the Mekong Delta still firmly holds on to "his own." The former owner cared much more for "his own," even if it had become collective ownership but remained within the production brigade, than for the "common pot" of the large cooperative farm. Furthermore, the amount of land, number of draft cattle and labor tools which the person joining the brigade contributed to the collective play a role in the distribution of the harvest.

The brigade contracting order has become widely applied in the South in recent years in rural cooperativization. The contracting system rapidly gained dominant positions in agriculture in the north of the country between 1979 and 1981. There it replaced the system of wage equalization, which had developed during the war but had exhausted its possibilities in peacetime. The contracting order strengthened the interest of the peasants in end labor results and contributed to the growth of output.

The essence of this system is assigning to a family which, as a rule, is quite large, and which includes members of three or four generations, a certain portion of the collective land, providing that a certain percentage of the harvest, established in advance, will be contributed to the fund of the cooperative. All the additional produce will be considered income for the family or the members of the link. The full rice-growing cycle consists of eight basic stages: plowing, preparation of the seeds for sowing, cultivating the shoots, pumping the water into the rice paddies, applying fertilizers, transplanting, caring for the plants and harvesting. The first five are carried out jointly on the entire cooperated land; the family or the link carry out the last three stages on their assigned plot.

A variety of opinions concerning this innovation could be heard in the North--both in the capital and locally. The progressive cooperatives, which had already acquired substantial social funds and were extensively using equipment, welcomed it with mistrust. One of the consequences of the contracting system is the splintering of the large cooperative fields into small lots. The land must be divided in such a way as to ensure for every worker equal opportunities for equitable wages. That is why, taking into consideration its size and composition, each family is given some good and some worse land, in fields located close by or at a greater distance. However, naturally, all such nuances cannot be taken into consideration. The contracting order was not always benefitting the public funds and social and cultural progress.

Therefore, along with the unquestionably stimulating influence on labor productivity and the increased well-being of the working people, the introduction of this new system caused new problems as well. They are being discussed in Vietnam's party press, and by the CPV Central Committee and SRV Council of Ministers, which deal with them periodically in their decrees. Practical experience is helping to perfect the contracting system and to develop its positive features.

The family contracting system attracted to agricultural collectives in the South many among those who had mistrusted the socialist reorganization and suited the primary and transitional forms of cooperation.

The process of peasant cooperation was reactivated in Nan Bo at the start of 1983. It was pointed out at a conference held by the secretariat of the CPV Central Committee and the SRV Council of Ministers with the heads of the southern provinces, held in Ho Chi Minh City on 22 and 23 February, that as a result of the consistent policy of land redistribution, capitalist exploitation in the countryside had been essentially abolished. Peasants without or with little land had been given nearly 272,000 hectares of land, or approximately one hectare per person. A total of 15.5 percent of peasant families, owning 11.5 percent of the farmland, had rallied within 8,528 production brigades and 186 agricultural cooperatives. Nearly one-half of the private farms were cooperating within 25,000 production solidarity groups, which play the role of "preparatory classes" for the cooperative sector in the countryside.

The road leading out of Rach Gia, which is the administrative center of (Kienzyang) Province, one of the southernmost in the SRV, took us to the (Zengriyeng) district, along a canal. Rows of coconut palms lined one of the shores, casting a shade on red tile roofs of well-built homes. Low, recently planted trees and modest huts could be seen on the other bank.

"This is the legacy of 'population concentration,'" explained Nguyen Than Thiep, CPV district committee secretary. "The Americans and their puppets banned settlements and farming on the eastern bank, destroying and burning everything. Their garrisons were deployed on the western bank."

The municipality of Long Than, which was on our way, had also been previously split into two halves. Nguyen Van Xuen, a 27-year-old second-generation communist, chairman of the people's municipal committee, described the way the people cultivated the fallow lands, and persuaded and made the prosperous peasants and bourgeoisified estate owners to share their lands with the poor who were returning from the concentration areas of (Viet Han) and (Gokuao). In a word, this was the same story I had heard on several occasions in different areas in the Vietnamese South.

Ten October 1978 was proclaimed a "comprehensive cooperation day." They were somewhat in a hurry.... How greatly they wanted equality and justice to come sooner! But even some party members began to lose faith and the class enemy used this failure in his propaganda against cooperatives. The peasants, fearing "coercive socialization," began to slaughter their draft animals for meat.

During a difficult period, in October 1980, Comrade Le Duan, CPV Central Committee general secretary, came to Long Than. A serious discussion was held on the proper and flexible implementation of the party's course.

Once again the people began to lay the ground for collectivization but, this time, relying on a more substantive support of revolutionary enthusiasm with the help of material and organizational factors. The people were encouraged

to build an irrigation system; representatives were sent to the province to procure high-quality seeds. The peasants were taught how to raise a second crop during the dry season and supplies of industrial goods through the consumer cooperative was organized.

Today 80 percent of the Long Than peasants are members of production brigades. They have nine tractors. Last year state procurement officials received from the municipality 4,600 tons of rice, compared to the 500 tons delivered in 1977. School is attended not by 300 but 3,000 peasant children.

Naturally, the overall portrait of today's Long Than is still far from ideal.

"But every month we are gaining experience and becoming more confident," says Nguyen Van Xuen.

Here is another lesson which was learned from the first steps of establishing rural cooperatives in Nan Bo.

Agriculture in the area is of a highly market-oriented nature. It is strongly tied to industry and trade and the entire region gravitates toward the largest city in the country. As long as socialist reorganization has not been completed in the latter, the peasantry will be unable to avoid the strong influence of the urban trade and industrial bourgeoisie.

In his 7 December 1983 address at the Fifth CPV Central Committee Plenum, Comrade Le Duan said: "Slowness in socialist reorganizations in recent years has had an adverse effect on the pace of economic construction and development. It must become clear, once and for all, that the socialist economy must assume absolutely dominant positions in industry, agriculture and trade. We must struggle to complete in its essential lines the transition of the peasantry in the southern part of the country to a collective track by 1985, in three forms: production solidarity groups, production brigades and agricultural cooperatives.... Such reorganizations must parallel construction and construction must be dominant."

These words by the CPV leader reflected the problems faced by the party members in the Long Than municipality and in hundreds of other rural municipalities in Nan Bo and indicated the way to their resolution. The entire economic organism must be reorganized as a set. The levers remaining in the hands of the bourgeoisie--trade and petty industry--must be removed or taken over. This means ensuring the coordination between town and country and strengthening the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, considered by the party the base of socialist reorganizations in the countryside. How close this is to Lenin's vision of the socialist reorganization of the Russian countryside! Patiently struggling to win over the middle peasant, gradually, step by step involving him initially in lower and, subsequently, higher forms of collective labor. In addition to the creation of production brigades and cooperatives we should not neglect production solidarity groups which must be supported energetically. We must develop even more extensively supply-marketing and crediting cooperatives. These are economic methods which are easily accepted by the peasant and are the bridge linking him to the state.

The entire transportation system in Nan Bo Province is centered in Ho Chi Minh City. Rice to the rice dryers and cattle for slaughter in Cholon move along the highways and navigation channels in the Mekong Delta; rubber for the processing enterprises and fruits for the market come from the eastern part of Nan Bo. A variety of goods, both local and imported, are shipped in the other direction. The city produces more than one-third of the country's industrial output. More than 100 of its large and small markets are the main commodity exchange mechanism.

Changes were made in the city's industry and trade in 1978. Large and medium-sized enterprises, stores and warehouses were taken over by the state. However, the bulk of the output continues to be produced in artisan and semi-artisan workshops and marketed by a number of petty merchants.

"Unfortunately, the private entrepreneur still enjoys strong positions in the southern part of Vietnam, particularly in the distribution area," confirmed Nguyen Vo Tanh, chairman of the Ho Chi Minh City People's Committee. "As long as he owns the rice dryers, slaughterhouses, petty transportation and trade in consumer goods it will be difficult to reorganize the countryside on a socialist basis. The transformation of this huge army of merchants and artisans is no simple matter. If one goes too far production begins to decline and the population is deprived of various vital commodities. All existing systems must be used during the transitional stage. It is simply necessary to establish state control over all of them without exception."

Nguyen Vo Tanh described the implementation of the CPV Central Committee Politburo 1983 decree on the acceleration of the socialist reorganization of the private sector in production and, particularly, in distribution and trade. The reorganization which was substantially energized last year covers two basic areas: merging private with state capital and cooperativization of small artisans and merchants.

"They too are working people," he pointed out. "Until the liberation, petty merchants had their own union covering all 100 Saigon markets. The union fought the policies of the pro-American regime. We, who represent the rule of the working people, must defend their interests as well."

In October 1984 the SRV Council of Ministers decreed the monopolizing of the distribution of food, rice above all, and banned private trade in this essential product. At the beginning of November a special conference was held in Ho Chi Minh City, at which the insufficient effectiveness of the state procurement system and the high percentage of private entrepreneurs in the food trade were noted. Measures were earmarked to implement the government's decrees and the objective was set to remove by the end of 1985 private merchants from the food market and to reorganize the rice-drying facilities and other private enterprises engaged in the processing of agricultural commodities.

"...The Tet holiday--the traditional welcoming of the new year, based on the lunar calendar--is preceded by most active trade. Major changes had taken place in the largest markets in Ho Chi Minh City by the time of last-year's

Tet holiday. The bright shingles of state, mixed and cooperative trade enterprises appeared among the noisy crowds. The merchants were the same people. However, some of them had joined cooperatives while others had become middlemen between state trade associations and customers. Many private merchants were also hired as state procurement system agents.

At the beginning of this year, the trade organizations in Ho Chi Minh City were controlling the distribution of 90 percent of the rice consumed by this city with a population of 3.5 million. Even earlier than that the state trading system had taken over the distribution of most of the meat. This dealt a major blow at the retailers. The expansion and improvement of socialist trade remain one of the main fronts in the fierce class struggle being waged in southern Vietnam.

The changes which took place in the city were quickly reflected beyond it; 1984 marked the continuation of the change in the reorganization of the countryside in Nan Bo. Land redistribution was completed in the basic rice-growing areas of the Mekong Delta. Between January and May 1984, 1,430 new brigades and 28 cooperatives were established here; thus the combined number of these two types of collective farms reached, respectively, 20,341 and 296. They already account for 45 percent of peasant farmsteads and 38 percent of the arable land. The majority of the still-uncooperated peasantry work in production solidarity groups. Cooperativization has been essentially completed in the three delta provinces. Up to 80 percent of the farmsteads in these provinces are engaged in various forms of collective work.

Collectivization has reached its decisive stage in Nan Bo. It would be erroneous to think that it is taking place quickly and smoothly everywhere. A large number of brigades and cooperatives are still immature; the economic and psychological ties linking yesterday's private farmers remain weak and fragile. A great shortage of management cadres for the new farms is felt everywhere. Nor have the class enemies laid down their arms once and for all. Nevertheless, the trend is clear: despite the natural, historical and socioeconomic features of Nan Bo, the future in this important area in Vietnam favors a cooperated peasantry.

The second structural part of the single process of establishment of socialist production relations in agriculture in southern Vietnam is the organization of large state farms. State farms did not become widespread in the North. By 1984, 300 of the 420 state farms in the republic were in the South.

Coffee, rubber and tea plantations in the Central Plateau and the eastern part of Nan Bo were nationalized and consolidated after the liberation of South Vietnam. The "cordon sanitaire" was converted from a "free fire zone" around the former Saigon into a green belt surrounding the largest city in the country; virgin lands were developed in the mountainous areas and in the extreme South. The process is continuing. It is directly related to the CPV policy of rational distribution of manpower on a national scale. Last year alone 72,000 hectares of virgin land were cultivated in the South, 60,000 of which within the state sector; 130,000 workers who came from the North and coastal areas of Chung Bo were given jobs in the southern state farms.

The share of state farms is insignificant in food production. However, they play a leading role in the cultivation of valuable industrial crops and tropical fruits and vegetables and supply goods for export.

The growth of the state sector in agriculture is assisted by cooperation with CEMA members, the Soviet Union above all. The USSR is participating in the creation of agroindustrial complexes for the production and processing of tea, coffee and natural silk in the Central Plateau, and the development of hevea plantations in the eastern part of Nan Bo. The implementation of the first Soviet-Vietnamese agreement on developing hevea plantations will come about this autumn. This involves 50,000 new hectares in rubber plants. Over the next 15 years, the rubber plantations developed in accordance with the plan for Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation will expand to 300,000-500,000 hectares. The Chian hydraulic power junction, which is being constructed with Soviet help, will make possible the cultivation of a great deal of new land.

Reorganization and construction--the 5th CPV Congress indicated the need for the close interconnection between the two processes. The course of reorganization of agriculture in the southern part of the country indicates the steady implementation of the party's course. The seeds of the Leninist plan for the socialist reorganization of the countryside are yielding new shoots in the extreme southeast corner of the Eurasian continent.

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REALITIES OF THE CONTEMPORARY EPOCH

SOURCES OF THE POLICY OF NUCLEAR BLACKMAIL

AU190601 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 85 (signed to press 14 Aug 85)
pp 113-121

[Article by V. Falin]

[Text] It happened at 8 hours 15 minutes and 30 seconds in the morning of 6 August 1945. Hiroshima was consumed in infernal flames. Three days later the same fate befell Nagasaki. Their destruction was not caused by military necessity. Japan's capitulation was predetermined. At the time of the Potsdam Conference American intelligence reported to U.S. and British leaders that the Japanese would give up the struggle as soon as the USSR entered the war. However, the prospect of not only the victory in Europe, but also the victory in the Far East being connected in the mind of the public with the prominent role of the USSR in the defeat of the aggressors did not suit Washington at all. By that time quite different plans and intentions had taken root there, and Washington planned to usurp the fruits of the great common victory.

The Japanese cities were not only the last ruins of World War II, but also the first victims of the United States' new "Great Political Strategy." The rulers on the other side of the ocean raised a nuclear mushroom cloud over the planet as a symbol of the exclusivity and omnipotence of America, as pointing finger visible from every quarter, as an announcement of the coming "American age." "Many things will be as they are (in the United States) or not at all" they menacingly warned everyone, leaving no doubt that American imperialism would not hesitate to do the same thing 100, 1,000, countless times over until life on earth had been completely annihilated.

Who needed to turn the finale of World War II into the prologue of the next war? It seemed as if finally the blackest and most difficult chapter in the history of mankind had been closed, a chapter in which mankind had emerged from bitter struggle enriched by the experience of constructive cooperation between states with different systems in the name of the higher interests of the people. Violence had been outlawed and there were no interstate problems in existence which could not be resolved on the basis of the principles of good neighborliness, equality and mutual benefit.

Not only ordinary citizens far from the intricacies of diplomacy thought in this way. The majority of political and state figures, parliamentarians and representatives of culture, science and economics sincerely believed that behind every word of the victorious powers promising people of all countries the chance to live and work without knowing fear or need there lay the strong determination to put their assurance into practice, that the vows of loyalty to allied duty reflected genuine good will, and that the friendship in combat would be given worthy continuation in peace time, in what people wanted to believe was an entire peaceful era just beginning.

But among leading U.S. circles there were influential forces which believed that the time for a stable world had not yet come and that the main battles still lay ahead--in Washington's crusade for world hegemony. In real terms only the USSR was capable of blocking the way. Accordingly, we began to be regarded as the main enemy, and the problem was reduced to when and by what means to realize the desired plans.

A close friend and adviser to President F. Roosevelt, H. Hopkins, noted in drafts for an (unwritten) book about the past: "There are a considerable number of people in America who would have very much liked our armies to have begun a war against Russia when they had crossed through Germany. They think of no one but themselves, and no self-respecting government in our country can allow this group to influence its official actions." Even if this was only a group, it must have been a powerful group. By force of circumstance it found itself at the fateful moment at the helm of the American state ship.

F. Roosevelt died suddenly on 12 April 1945. The post of U.S. President was inherited by H. Truman, that very same senator from the state of Missouri who, after the treacherous attack by Hitler's "Reich" on the Soviet Union, said: "If we see that Germany is winning we will help Russia; if Russia is winning we will help Germany. And may they kill as many of one another as possible." This was not a slip of the tongue of rhetorical banality. The senator was expounding his political credo.

Literally one week after taking up his duties, the newly fledged president gave the U.S. ambassador in Moscow, A. Harriman, to understand that he intended to radically alter the approach to the USSR. The United States, argued H. Truman, "cannot, of course, have 100 percent of what it would like, but in important issues...we must be in a position to get 85 percent of what we want." For this, "determination and firmness" would be necessary.

In practicing them, according to the head of the administration, the United States would not be risking anything, because with the end of the war the Soviet Union would be more interested in the Americans than the latter would be in the USSR.

At a conference in the White House on 23 April, H. Truman cast doubt on the usefulness of agreements with Moscow altogether. "This (Soviet-American cooperation) must be broken now or never.... If the Russians do not wish to fall in with us they can go to the devil," the president stormed. It is a good thing that he had not yet been let into the secret of the "Manhattan

Project" and was primarily counting on economic levers for bringing pressure to bear.

H. Truman was made au fait with the development of nuclear weapons on 25 April. Secretary of War H. Stimson spared no colorful words to present the atom bomb as the key to unlimited U.S. power and as a patent means of "determining future relations with other countries." The entire discussion took 15 minutes. In this quarter of an hour, and American research states, the bomb became the "dominant idea of postwar planning." At this point, on the president's orders, a "provisional committee" was set up for the operative examination of the problems of using the new weapon. Regarding the storm of activity which ensued, R. Oppenheimer, one of the scientific pillars of the "Manhattan Project," was later to remark: "I do not think we ever worked harder or more quickly than in the period after the capitulation of Germany."

H. Truman and his trusted associates impatiently awaited the test nuclear explosion so as to determine once and for all whether they would observe, to what extent, and how long the "sacred obligations" of the alliance which, as it was stressed at Yalta by the heads of the three powers, had made "victory possible and unquestionable for the United Nations." Washington's policy in coordinating a date with Moscow and London for holding the new top-level meeting was subordinate to the nuclear test schedule, because the Potsdam Conference was regarded on the other side of the ocean as a testing ground for the first steps in nuclear diplomacy.

On 16 July 1945 a nuclear device was detonated at the Alamogordo test ground. The next day the conference opened in Potsdam. On 21 July a report on the results of the tests was submitted to H. Truman and, according to an entry in the president's diary, filled him with a "totally new feeling of confidence." The U.S. leader immediately tried to turn his "confidence" into political capital. But, to the great disappointment of both Truman himself and W. Churchill, I. V. Stalin reacted totally calmly to the report conveyed to him in an unofficial conversation regarding the appearance in America of "a bomb of exceptionally great strength" and "something extraordinary, capable of decisively influencing the will of the Japanese to continue the war." By his whole demeanor the head of the Soviet government made it perfectly clear that as far as the USSR was concerned, blackmail would be to no avail.

As facts attest, adaptation to the new nuclear role and the planning of nuclear bomb attacks on Japan swallowed up the greater part of H. Truman's attention and time at Potsdam. On 24 July the president approved the order to use, "round about 3 August" (after his departure from Berlin and before the USSR's entry into the war in the Far East), a "special bomb" against "one of the following targets--Hiroshima, Kokura, Niigata, Nagasaki." It was believed that without "being put to the test on the battlefields," on people, the nuclear fist would not carry enough weight. Initial plans to drop a bomb on Japanese warships were first changed in favor of a "large industrial objective," and then--having taken into consideration the results of the tests--settled on "a large city." The strike was calculated cold-bloodily in such a way as to cause the maximum number of victims, so that it would be remembered for a long time.

The decision was of a strictly political nature and was aimed at several quarters. H. Truman knew that on 9 August the Red Army would come out against the largest Kwantung group of Japanese troops, but the USSR was not informed of the forthcoming bomb attack, which was expected to break "the will of the Japanese" to offer resistance. Not because they suddenly doubted the importance of the Soviet contribution to the defeat of Japanese militarism. But W. Churchill began to act irresponsibly, welcoming the atom bomb as "the second coming of Christ" and saying that "we do not need the Russians any more." Washington figures, particularly among the military, were more cautious: the reaction of the Japanese could not be predicted. There were only two bombs available and the possibility of a misfire could not be ruled out. By leaving the Soviet Union in ignorance regarding the order to subject Japan to nuclear attacks, Washington intended to turn the bomb into the cornerstone of its new autocratic course and to monopolize not only the weapon itself, but also any "dividends" from it. In short, the nuclear strike against Japan was, to use the expression of U.S. Undersecretary of Defense for Policy F. Ikle "an act of terrorism on an unprecedented scale." Half a million Japanese were doomed to death and torment in order to drive home American imperialism's claims to world hegemony and, to quote G. Burns, "to make Russia pliable."

Thus transpired the intentions which had lain in the American nuclear program since 1942. The "Manhattan Project," which had been founded under the motto of forestalling the Germans in the creation of nuclear weapons, essentially had a double bottom.

Washington was in a state of nerves for a long time, not having precise information on the German developments. The uncertainty lasted right up to the allied landing in Normandy on 6 June 1944. Associates of the "scientific reconnaissance service of the Manhattan Project" followed on the heels of the American landing force. The secret "Operation Alsos" [as transliterated] was set in motion. The hunt was on for information about the German "superweapon," and also about the German scientists themselves and the apparatus they used. Everything that could not be seized and sent to the United States was destroyed on the spot so that it did not fall into the hands of "the Russians and the French."

Having gotten as far as the little town of Khaygalo [as transliterated], the Alsos agents established once and for all that the Germans did not have any nuclear weapons and would not have before the end of the war. It seemed as if the prime reason for initiating the "Manhattan Project" had fallen away. What next? Curtail the American work? This possibility, according to a participant in the creation of the atom bomb, V. Weiskopf, was not even discussed. From the recollections of a leading specialist in the leading project, L. Szilard, it would seem that scientists were not too generously supplied with information on the state of affairs with the Germans. This was so that they did not get cold feet or, worse still, give way to their emotions as did L. Szilard and A. Einstein who in March 1945 appealed to the U.S. president to renounce the idea of bombing Japan with nuclear weapons and to prevent a nuclear arms race and the military use of nuclear energy in general.

But whereas for responsible scientists the absence of nuclear weapons on the enemy side was an argument "against" using their own bomb, for many politicians in Washington and London this was a weighty argument "in favor of" using it. When and how were the candidates for immolation selected? This topic was specially discussed on 18 September 1944 by F. Roosevelt and W. Churchill in Hyde Park. The president and the prime minister agreed that work on the atom bomb must continue in the conditions of "the greatest secrecy" and that, when the bomb was ready, "on mature reflection, it would possible by used against the Japanese, who must be warned that this kind of bombing will be repeated until they capitulate."

One can only speculate how F. Roosevelt envisaged the future of nuclear power and its peaceful and military application, and how his "mature reflections" would have ended. But one thing that is beyond discussion is that the president gambled on the fact that nuclear weapons would be the privilege of the United States and, possibly, of Britain. The USSR's access to nuclear technology was to be hindered in every way possible. For this purpose, parallel to the development of the bomb, from 1943 onwards a top. After Germany's defeat the intensity of efforts in this sphere sharply increased. The United States forced negotiations, with Holland, Sweden and Brazil in particular on granting the Americans preferential rights to fission materials.

Thus the policy aimed at giving the United States a monopoly and, in any case, overwhelming superiority, was not founded on the ephemeral "concealment" of nuclear secrets," but primarily on blocking the Soviet Union's access to fission materials abroad, because it was believed that we ourselves did not have any worthwhile deposits. Measures to "protect the interests" of Washington were planned for 50 to 100 years ahead, and in 1945 the predominant opinion was that it would take the USSR approximately 20 years to develop even one atom bomb and that even after this the West, having seized the most important sources of raw materials, would retain decisive leadership in the nuclear arms race. The evaluation formed the basis of all major postwar on the part of the United States.

Japan unconditionally capitulated on 2 September 1945. World War II was over. But by November 1945 the United States' new course in world affairs had taken shape in its basic features, a course alien to Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam. Washington burned the bridges of accord and cooperation in the arrogant belief that it had no need to be on good terms with anyone: everything sought after the Americans could buy up or take. The atom bomb, H. Truman claimed, "will not only revolutionize war, but is also capable of changing the course of history and civilization." "We regard the existence of this new destructive force," the American president said frankly, "as a sacred kindness." To halt progress and reverse history--in this lay the secret dream of the moneybags on the other side of the ocean. Their political plenipotentiaries and military campaigners drew their inspiration from this.

When it seemed to Washington figures that the "existence of the atom bomb in the arsenals of the United States would give them a permanent advantage over other peoples in the future," and when they imagined themselves to be the masters of all destinies on earth, could one possibly expect the United States to agree to the liquidation of these barbaric weapons? Or even to a ban on

their use similar to the Geneva protocol on chemical poisonous substances and bacteriological weapons? "Peace will always have to be built on strength. Justice, good will, and good deeds are not enough," decreed the master of the White House at that time. Nuclear weapons were advertised as a concentrate of force and, what is more, accessible at that time to the United States alone. The arms race and confrontation were given a monumental foundation. Strength was above all else and forever. American militarism was given a special, privileged place in the pyramid of power. The nation became infected with imperial arrogance.

The calendar showed 1945, 1946, 1947. The ruins of the last war had still not been sorted out. People were still dying from their war wounds. Why was official Washington so uncomfortable under the peaceful skies? Why did it frenziedly hurry to discredit and consign to oblivion its cooperation with the USSR? Why was it thirsting for a quarrel?

Their German and Japanese rivals' fall from the club of great powers totally suited the American leaders. They did not grieve over the weakening of Britain and France or over the collapse of their colonial empires. But all this was accompanied by that indispensable proviso that the universal heir to the property that had become "abeyant" and "escheated" would be the United States and none other. The failure of attempts by one of the imperialist detachments to establish it in world supremacy should not, according to Washington's logic, entail a renunciation of the general aim of the absolute power of capital.

The social and international political results of the victory did not suit imperialist reactionaries. The situation in the world had taken on too democratic a turn--not in form, but in its very essence. The popular masses were no longer in the back seat, but in the proscenium of history. They demanded that their interests be considered. "The street," "the mob," "the crowd" should be driven as quickly as possible into the strict framework of "parliamentary democracy" so that everyone should know his place.

However, the opinion of the minority had still to be imposed on the majority which, overjoyed at the end of the world war, awaited the American soldiers' return home and the resumption of the peaceful life of the country. G. Marshall stated that "the country is in a state of widespread emotional crisis," due to which demobilization had developed into the disintegration not only of the armed forces but also, probably, of "the entire concept of world responsibility." H. Truman feared that demobilization would deprive the United States of the means of "achieving the fulfillment of its demands." An enemy was urgently needed, first as a target for propaganda and then for the possible use of American military might.

If there is no enemy, one can be created. Accordingly, on 19 September and 9 October 1945 the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff approved "The Bases of Formulating American Military Policy" (Document 1496/2) and "The Strategic Concept and Plan for the Use of the U.S. Armed Forces" (Document 1518). Their essence conveys the following thesis: "If it becomes known that the troops of a potential enemy are preparing to move against us, we cannot allow that a first strike be carried out against us because of our false and dangerous ideas on

the inadmissibility of our own aggressive actions." The chiefs of staff confirmed the doctrine of preventive actions which they themselves had proposed immediately after the nuclear bomb attacks on Japan, a doctrine which, as the military emphasized, "differs from American war concepts of the past."

By the end of 1945 models were being constructed of a real war against the Soviet Union in the event of "an obvious threat of a Soviet attack" or the creation by Soviet science and industry of the prerequisites for "an eventual attack on the United States or for defense against our [American] attack." It was envisaged using atom bombs against 20 major cities. These included Moscow, Leningrad, Gorkiy, Kuybyshev, Sverdlovsk, Novosibirsk, Saratov, Kazan, Baku, Tbilisi and Tashkent. The list does not include Kiev, Minsk, Kharkov, Stalingrad and Rostov. They had already been reduced to ruins by the Nazis and on the day when the first plan for nuclear aggression against the USSR was drawn up--3 November 1945--they had still not risen from the ruins.

Six months passed, and an "experimental," comprehensive war plan--"Pincher" appeared. In the process of coordinating its component parts it became clear that appetites outstripped potentials--the American air force could not reach targets located in the heart of Soviet territory. It was decided to attach bases in third countries to the "nuclear air attack" in Turkey in particular, and, if possible, in Italy and China. The idea was so appealing that the modified "Pincher" plan--the "Broiler" plan (1947) also figured bases in Britain, Egypt, India and the Ryukyu Islands, and the "Grabber" plan (1948) included bases in Pakistan and in Okinawa. With the exception of the bases in Britain and on Okinawa and Ryukyu, the bridgeheads from which it was intended to unleash aggression were liable to be suddenly seized in advance by U.S. airborne assault landing troops. In addition to this, it was proposed that, after raids on certain distant regions, American bombers would land in "friendly countries" or make a supposedly "forced landing" at the aerodromes of neutral countries. And international law, the UN Charter, elementary decency--what would become of them? Postwar Washington impudently slighted lawfulness. Neutrality was declared "amoral" and the socialist countries and their friends were designated "territory temporarily in enemy hands."

It is not inappropriate to stress that nothing was happening in the outside world which could be presented as "grounds" for disagreement between yesterday's allies. But on the other hand, there was an excessive desire on the part of the pretenders to world domination on the other side of the ocean to resort to a policy of nuclear blackmail and intimidation by making use of their temporary nuclear monopoly. The United States, said G. Forrestal, secretary of the navy, was in a position to go straight ahead while it was still able to "surpass the rest of the world in production levels," control the seas, and strike at the heart of enemy territory.... At present not one state has acquired the ability to strike the United States with the aid of mass destruction weapons."

The scale and intensity of the planned nuclear strikes were limited--in the plans and the minds of their authors--only by the weapons stocks available and the calculable military effect. In March 1947 Secretary of War R. Patterson instructed General D. Eisenhower "pursue a policy envisaging the unlimited use

of nuclear energy for waging war." It was assumed that the concentrated use of nuclear weapons would reduce one's own losses and facilitate the process of involving allies in the war. In addition to nuclear weapons, it was also planned to make extensive use of radiological, chemical and bacteriological weapons in order to achieve "an element of surprise and serious damage to vitally important elements of the Soviet military potential" and to ensure the United States "very significant and permanent advantages." Nuclear absenteeism was to be permitted only if there was a possibility of realizing claims without the use of weapons.

The very concept of war had undergone a great transformation in the United States. The terms "political," "social" and "psychological" war and "war for ideological motives" gained currency. In 1948 many of them were placed under the same roof--"cold war"--which was to become the visiting card of Washington policy for 2 decades. One government document states for the purpose of greater clarity: "cold war" is, in reality, "real war, the stake in which is the survival of the free world." The catalogue of grounds for "hot war" include the acquisition by other countries of the technical potential to "attack" the United States or the establishment of control over regions from which the Americans or their allies could carry out a direct attack on the USSR; political, social, economic and other "complications" within a state which are objectively useful to the Soviet Union, irrespective of the involvement or noninvolvement of external circles in these complications"; and if time will work in favor of a "potential enemy" and generally when an attack seems "the best form of defense."

With a limitless selection of forms and types of war and an inexhaustible list of grounds for using weapons, international relations begin to look like an endless chain of crises and ordeals. From the point of view of the Truman administration instability was a plus. Complications facilitated "thorough, timely and sufficiently extensive preparation for war." The creation of "crisis war conditions," we read in a document of those years of the U.S. National Security Council, helps to "mobilize and coordinate reserves" in the West for carrying out strikes.

President H. Truman interpreted "deterrence" as an organic part of the strategy to "roll back Soviet power." The very possibility of "long, peaceful coexistence between communist and capitalist states" (Memorandum of the National Security Council, 30 March 1948) was negated. To attack without delay, having accumulated "overwhelming U.S. superiority in nuclear weapons," and to "consciously involve the Soviet Union in a war in the near future.... The United States is in a position to begin and wage a sufficiently effective offensive with the aim of gaining a decisive advantage for the free world and, possibly, of ensuring victory at an early stage in the war"--Directive No 68 of the National Security Council, 14 April 1950 modified the same theme.

With war on the brain, Washington avoided agreements with the USSR which could have improved the situation. Particular hostility was aroused among members of the administration by the ideas of restraining the arms race and disarming. Since nuclear weapons were fated to be, the United States "must possess the best, the biggest and in maximum quantity." The purpose of negotiations, in their opinion, was to settle the "gradual retreat of the Soviet Union,"

increase the American advantage and complicate relations between the USSR and third countries. National Security Council Directive No 68 provided some substantiation of the policy of deviating from honesty: "...The conditions for reaching agreement on important issues which remain open...are unacceptable, if not catastrophic for the United States and the rest of the free world." First reality had to be taken apart and rehashed to one's own advantage, and then it would be possible to reach agreement, if there was anyone left to reach agreement with.

A document of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of 9 April 1947 contains the following passage: "The regions to which the defense obligations of the United States extend cover a land and sea area which stretches approximately from Alaska to the Philippines and Australia in the Pacific Ocean and from Greenland to Brazil and Patagonia in the Atlantic Ocean. This area incorporates 40 percent of dry land, but only 25 percent of the earth's population. The Old World (Europe, Asia and Africa) covers 60 percent of dry land, although 75 percent of the world's population lives there.... Therefore it is obvious that in the event of war for ideological motives we will require the support of some states in the Old World so that our potential is not far lower than the potential of our enemies."

Let us follow the revelations of the Joint Chiefs of Staff further: "In the long term the most valuable military state in this region is Germany. Without Germany's assistance the other countries of Western Europe will hardly be able to offer resistance to our ideological enemies for a period of time sufficient to enable the United States to mobilize and bring to a state of combat readiness large armed forces capable of defeating the enemy. With the assistance of a revived Germany fighting on the side of the Western allies this would be possible."

R. Reagan did not overdo it in connecting the laying of a wreath at the cemetery of Hitlerite fighters and cutthroats from the SS at Bitburg with the 40th anniversary of the American-West Germany military deal. He once again testified to the fact that the U.S. leadership betrayed the cause of the anti-Hitler coalition literally on Victory Day, if not earlier. At that particular moment it mentally split Germany, Europe and the whole world into hostile camps bristling with weapons. But publicly it lied, played the hypocrite, and employed evasive tactics.

One can form the impression that H. Truman was simply under the thumb of the military, which, not having used up its energy in the battles of World War II, craved a chance to let off steam after the war's end. But there is still the question of who in 1945 more frenziedly idealized nuclear icons framed in dollars--the military or the politicians, who discovered the "Soviet threats"--the cumbersome intelligence apparatus or officials with a vivid imagination, and who made the decisive contribution to the formation of the stereotype of thinking based on force and of an ideologized foreign policy--the professionals heading the staffs in the arms of service or the civilian chief of the White House? This is a big question because in the United States militarism does not necessarily wear epaulettes. It also feels at home in civilian dress.

One thing remains beyond any doubt--the United States rushed to the path of confrontation through inner conviction. It was not the outside world that forced confrontation on Washington, but Washington that forced confrontation on the outside world. The decision to discard allied agreements reached during the war was not brought about by difficulties in their implementation, but by reactionary dogmas.

"Whoever does not know the beginning will not understand the end," goes a popular saying. The treachery perpetrated under H. Truman is not only history. The concepts of the 1940s and 1950s, which are hostile to mankind, are continued in present-day Washington. Both "forward line defense," and claims for security tailored solely for the United States, and the practice of arbitrarily carrying off any attractive region of the world to include it in the sphere of "exclusive American interests," and the constant brandishing of the nuclear stick and much more that today people's existence so troubled arose 40 years ago, when the United States betrayed the cause of the anti-Hitler coalition. Its rulers were seized by fear of time. Hence the categorical "no" to a moratorium on the production of nuclear bombs in 1946. In exactly the same way, today the answer is "no" to the new Soviet initiative to introduce a moratorium on any nuclear explosions.

And the plans for "star wars" have arrived in the present from the same cold times. Precisely at that time, under the leadership of the Hitlerite General W. Dornberger and with the participation of hundreds of other former Nazi "researchers," did the United States undertake detailed study of the possibilities of using outer space for military purposes. In particular, different versions were worked out for deploying satellites around the earth equipped with nuclear warheads for striking targets on enemy territory, and then for knocking out of action with the aid of explosions in the earth's orbit, the communications systems of the "potential enemy" (the "Argos Project" and so forth.

The launching of the Soviet satellite canceled out American plans to monopolize outer space for "offensive operations," to thereby compensate for U.S. loss of the nuclear monopoly, and to gain decisive military superiority. But at that time science and technology were not mature enough for "strategic defense initiatives" such as Reagan's. Plans for militarizing outer space were laid aside but, as facts show, were not abandoned.

The desire to suppress everything inconvenient, incomprehensible and ungovernable, megalomania, and unbridled chauvinism, which deny other's rights and interests--this is it, the nutriment on which doctrines--verdicts on other countries and peoples--have been nurtured and continue to be nurtured.

The policy "from a position of strength" has not always or everywhere ended in armed conflict and war. But any aggression originates from a policy of strength or seeming strength. The present American administration behaves as if it has another world stored away if today's world goes up in flames. Washington obviously has no desire at all to acknowledge an elementary truth--if we do not save this world which, of course, is in many ways imperfect from the viewpoint of any social system taken individually, there will not be another world suitable for life, for disputes, and for competition. The

tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was the result of reckless cruelty and callous political intrigue. But it will not have been in vain if its bitter lesson will help to prevent an even greater catastrophe and to preserve life on our planet.

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BOOK REVIEWS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

MOST IMPORTANT ASPECT OF PARTY LIFE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 85 (signed to press 14 Aug 85) pp 122-127

[Review by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences G. Cherneyko of the book "V. I. Lenin, KPSS ob Organizatsionno-Partiynoy Rabote" [V. I. Lenin and the CPSU on Organizational-Party Work]. In 4 volumes. Vol 1 "Chlenstvo v KPSS" [Membership in the CPSU]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1985, 400 pp]

[Text] The study of CPSU theory and practice is a task of permanent significance, relevant at all stages of social development. The four-volume publication on party construction problem, drafted by the CPSU Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department, will unquestionably contribute to its successful solution. For the first time, the work puts together and systematizes party documents dealing with basic areas of party organizational activities from the time of its establishment to the present. In addition to Lenin's articles, reports, speeches, addresses and excerpts from books, pamphlets and telegrams, the work includes party bylaws, materials from party congresses and conferences, Central Committee plenums and decrees and instructions and regulations. Such a representative collection of documents allows the comprehensive presentation of the tremendous theoretical and practical activities carried out by Lenin and the party in the formulation and implementation of the principles and norms of party life, the enrichment of the means and methods of party work and party leadership, and strengthening relations between the party and the working class and the toiling masses.

Such a collection of documents and materials give the reader the opportunity to become thoroughly familiar with the search of ways to resolve party building problems during the various historical stages and to see the continuity in CPSU policy.

The recently published first volume--"CPSU Membership"--contains Lenin's ideas on party membership, tracing their development under the conditions and further advancement of socialism.

The basic principles of membership were formulated by Lenin on the occasion of the preparations for and holding of the 2nd RSDWP Congress in 1903. He suggested including in the draft party bylaws the stipulation that a party member is any one who accepts its program and supports the party with funds

and personal participation in one of the party's organizations (see p 21). Martov held a different viewpoint: He claimed that the greater the number of people who call themselves party members the better. He was in favor of the right of any striker or intellectual, who had ever helped the party, to consider himself a party member, regardless of whether or not he embraced the basic interests of the working class as his own and was able to engage in a selfless organized struggle in their defense.

In substantiating the danger of such a viewpoint, Lenin said that, "We find it extremely difficult and almost impossible to separate loafers from hard workers," and that Martov's formula would "inevitably tend to make party members of one and all..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 7, p 289). In this connection, Ilich said that, "Better for 10 working people not to call themselves party members (the real working people do not aspire to rank!) than for one loafer to have the right and possibility of becoming a party member" (ibid., p 290).

The congress adopted the opportunistic formula by an insignificant majority. Reality proved its groundlessness quite soon. That is why, Lenin's draft was adopted at the 3rd PSDWP Congress in 1895. It sounds clear, precise and exacting, in a Leninist fashion, to this day: "A party member may be any citizen of the Soviet Union, who accepts the party's program and bylaws, who actively participates in building communism, who works in one of the party's organizations, implements the party's decisions and pays his membership dues" (p 300). It is only the strict, systematic and complete observance of such statutory requirements that can ensure the shaping of the party as an organization for truly revolutionary action and a combat political alliance of like-minded people conscientiously observing a discipline mandatory to all. "Worthy of the lofty title of party member," Lenin wrote, "can only be he who carries out the entire work among the masses truly in the spirit of the party's decisions..." (op. cit., vol 22, p 255).

The CPSU remains always true to its leader's stipulation that "every party member is responsible for the party and the party is responsible for every member" (op. cit., vol 7, p 290). Applying Lenin's call for "protecting the firmness, consistency and purity" of party ranks (ibid.) in a Leninist fashion, the CPSU Central Committee persistently and steadily increases its demands toward every party member, concerning his attitude toward social duty, the implementation of party decisions and maintaining the honest and pure features of the party member.

The collection traces the CPSU's creative development of the principles and norms of party membership during the various stages of building socialism and communism. Thus, the bylaws adopted at the 17th VKP(b) Congress (1934) included for the first time an article on the duties of party members; the 18th congress (1939) included another article on their rights, thus proving the further democratization of life in Soviet society in connection with the adoption of the new USSR Constitution, and another one on the reorganization of party work on the basis of the strict and total application of the principles of intraparty democracy. Amendments were introduced in this section of the bylaws by all subsequent party congresses, motivated by the

requirements of the period and aimed at upgrading the role of the party members and the party as a whole in social life.

The bylaw stipulations adopted at the 19th CPSU Congress (1952), according to which actions, such as the passive and formal attitude by party members toward party decisions, violations of party and state discipline, suppression of criticism and replacing it with ostentatiousness and glorification, untruthfulness to and deceiving the party by a party member, revealing party and state secrets, and appointing people to positions on the basis of friendship, personal loyalty, place of birth and family relation were considered incompatible with party membership and were of basic importance in the further strengthening of party discipline (see pp 249-250).

The 23rd CPSU Congress (1966) introduced a supplement to the bylaws according to which the party will get rid of individuals who violate its program and bylaws and compromise the title of communist through their behavior. The rights and obligations of party members, as stipulated in the current bylaws, based on the guiding principle of party structure and activities--democratic centralism--aim at maintaining a high level of consciousness and ideological convictions in party members, their discipline, organization and activeness in the implementation of the CPSU political line and the truly democratic means and methods of organization of intraparty life.

Lenin's works and CPSU documents included in the work under review ascribe prime attention to shaping the party's structure. Throughout its existence our party has proceeded from the fact that numerical growth is not always a reliable indicator of support of its policies by the masses and that the party's strength is not directly dependent on its size. The thought of the inadmissibility of hastening the growth of party ranks to the detriment of its qualitative structure runs throughout Lenin's works and the party's documents.

The communist party, the materials in the work stress, is a vanguard, a leading detachment, reinforced on a class basis, in accordance with the specific circumstances which guide its actions. Therefore, the party's qualitative composition is a specific historical and class concept. Lenin taught that in terms of composition the communist party must be strictly proletarian and that it must grow primarily by accepting progressive, politically conscious and highly organized workers, who have acquired a proletarian mentality thanks to their situation in life. Ilich particularly insisted on the formulation of "exceptionally strict conditions as to who could be classified as big industry worker..." (op. cit., vol 44, p 285). "The party," he said at the 8th All-Russian Conference of the RKP(b) in 1919, "must be exclusive to such an extent as to accept people outside the working class as members only if they are the offspring of other classes whom it can test with the greatest possible cautiousness" (op. cit., vol 39, p 361).

Lenin saw in the consciousness and organization of industrial workers the main force of the revolutionary party. The members of other strata, the first party program stipulated, may be accepted "only if they adopt the viewpoint of the proletariat" ("KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh Sezdov, Konferentsiy i Plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses and Conferences and Central Committee Plenums], 9th expanded and revised edition,

vol 1, Moscow, 1983, p 61). At the same time, Lenin inseparably linked the task of being a "class party" with the demand of remaining, under all circumstances, a "party of the masses," "a vanguard which, even during the worst of times, would not abandon this entire army..." (op. cit., vol 17, p 364).

In admitting within its ranks those who understand "what a workers party means" and who can "prove the application of the principles of communism in action" (op. cit., vol 39, p 360), in the most difficult years of the struggle the bolsheviks secured for themselves the reliable support of the broad toiling masses. "We do not want ostentatious party members even as a gift," Lenin wrote in 1919. "The only governmental party in the world concerned not with increasing its membership but with upgrading their quality and purging the party from "gate crashers" is ours--the party of the revolutionary working class" (ibid., p 224).

The party formulated the conditions for the acceptance of new members on the basis of Lenin's concepts. The 11th RKP(b) 1922 Congress established three categories for people joining the party: workers and Red Army personnel from worker and peasant families; peasants (other than Red Army men) and artisans not exploiting some one else's labor; and others (employees, etc.). This procedure was condified in the bylaws adopted at the 12th All-Russian RKP(B) 1922 Conference. It contributed to the increased trust of the proletarian masses in the Bolshevik Party, as was noted at the 13th party conference in 1924, which also stipulated as one of the most important tasks that of making greater efforts to expand the proletarian nucleus within the party.

In promoting the decisive predominance of proletarian elements in the party, the 17th party congress established four acceptable categories: industrial workers with work seniority of no less than 5 years; agricultural workers, Red Army men who are workers and kolkhoz members, and engineering and technical personnel working in a shop or sector; kolkhoz members, members of artisan cooperatives and grammar-school teachers; and other employees (see p 179).

That procedure remained in force until the 18th VKP(b) Congress, which concluded that as a result of the victory of socialism in the USSR the class structure of Soviet society had changed and a new sociopolitical unity of the people had been established. In this new situation, party membership based on the social status of the applicants was no longer required. Identical membership requirements were set for all applicants.

The authority of the Bolshevik Party grew particularly highly during the Great Patriotic War, when it strengthened its ties with the toiling masses even further. The party's ideals became those of the entire people, something which affected the growth of the party's ranks. By the middle of 1946 the VKP(b) numbered 4,599,000 members and 1,427,000 candidate members. Two-thirds of the party members had joined the party during the war. Such a substantial renovation of the membership demanded of the party organizations increased organizational party and political work with the reinforcements and their involvement in party and sociopolitical work (see p 243).

Nevertheless, many party organizations failed to show proper concern for the systematic improvement of the party's composition, ignored the principle of individual selection and violated the VKP(b) bylaws by leaving party enrollment essentially without control (see pp 243-244). In 1946, a special VKP(b) Central Committee decree directed the party obkoms and kraykoms and the central committees of communist parties of union republics to draw the attention of the party organizations on improving further the qualitative structure of new party members to intensify organizational and educational work with the new members, and to ensure the active recruitment above all of politically mature workers and members of the engineering and technical intelligentsia, who were ready for party membership, particularly those in the most important industrial and transportation sectors, as well as scientific workers (see p 245).

However, as the study of CPSU growth dynamics indicates, ever since the 1930s, when workers accounted for 68.5 percent of the entire membership, their share had declined substantially, dropping to 32 percent by the time of the 20th CPSU Congress (1956). This was followed by a substantial increase in the number of members of the working class among the new party members, which reached 59 percent between the 25th and 26th party congresses. This trend proves that even under the conditions of the rapidly developing social homogeneity of socialist society and the sociopolitical and ideological unity of the people, the party ascribes prime importance to the growth of the worker nucleus and ensures the leading position of the working class within it. Having become the vanguard of the whole people, the CPSU does not lose its class nature, for the rapprochement among social groups is based on the objectives and interests of the working class. The class nature of the party is also a guarantee that its leading role will continue to grow as society draws closer to communism.

Changes in the social structure of the party are taking place along with those in society. The party's ranks are increasing also with the addition of people working in fields and livestock farms and workers on the scientific and cultural fronts, in the interest of strengthening the alliance among the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia. Their share has diminished somewhat as a result of the decreased number of kolkhoz members in the country. Meanwhile, the number of members of the intelligentsia is increasing steadily.

The 1976 CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Work of the Party Organizations in Kirghizia on New Party Membership and Educating CPSU Candidate-Party Members" emphasizes that in accepting new party members "it is necessary to take into consideration the changes taking place in the population's social structure and the features of each individual oblast, city and rayon, the specific nature of labor collectives and the need to strengthen the party's influence in the various national economic and cultural sectors" (p 328).

The steady growth of the general education, cultural and professional standards of the people is positively influencing the party's qualitative composition. Whereas in 1927 63 percent of all party and candidate-party members had grammar education training and a significant percentage of the membership was illiterate, today nearly three-quarters of the members are

people with higher, incomplete higher and secondary specialized training (see p 344).

Many of the materials included in the first volume describe party activities in the selection of members of the young generation for party membership. "We shall always be the party of the progressive young class!" Lenin wrote even before the Great October Revolution (op. cit., vol 14, p 163). He addressed this question repeatedly, emphasizing that party reinforcements should consist above all of young workers. Ilich suggested the drafting of membership conditions which would ensure "that the Komsomol members joining the party are serious students and have indeed learned something and, secondly, that they have undergone a lengthy apprenticeship in serious practical work (economic, cultural, etc.)" (op. cit., vol 44, p 286).

The resolution of the 11th RKP(b) Congress to the effect that all young people through the age of 20 (Red Army personnel excepted) could join the party only through the Komsomol was of great importance. This decision, which was codified in the bylaws adopted at the 12th All-Russian Conference of the RKP(b), remained effective until the 23rd CPSU Congress, which amended it to read that young people through the age of 23 could join the party only via the Komsomol.

The practical experience which was gained proved the accuracy of the party's policy concerning the young generation. Today, as was noted at the 26th party congress, nearly three-quarters of new CPSU members are former Komsomols. In its selection of young men and women for party membership, the party pays exceptional attention to choosing the most active and mature young people.

The documents published in the work convincingly prove the party's concern for increasing the number of women members. Lenin demanded that the party recruit the most progressive and conscious members of the women's movement. Slowness in including women in the country's political life was the main reason for the fact that in 1920 there were only 45,297 women who were party members, or 7.4 percent of the total membership. The share of women in the party increased as their labor and political activeness intensified. In its decrees "On the Extensive Inclusion of Men and Women Workers in the Party on the Occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution" (1927) and "On the Forthcoming Party Tasks on Work Among Women Workers and Peasants" (1929), the VKP(b) Central Committee indicated that increasing the efforts to enroll working women in the party assumed great importance under the conditions of building socialism. The collection emphasizes that the CPSU pays great attention to selecting women for party membership to this day, thanks to which their number has increased substantially. Between 1966 and 1985 it increased by nearly 2.8 million or more than double the earlier figure (see p 12).

From its very start, the RSDWP was structured as the united party of the working class of all nations within Russia. The work under review includes many documents proving the great attention which Lenin and the Bolshevik Party paid to problems of the national composition of party ranks. Purposeful internationalist activities yielded rich results and contributed to the fact that in terms of ideology, composition and structure the CPSU is a party of consistent and firm Leninist internationalists representing more than 100

nationalities and ethnic groups in the Soviet Union. The CPSU directs its policy toward the harmonious combination of national with international interests, creating the type of social conditions in which the blossoming of each nation is a prerequisite for the upsurge of the entire society. As the role and significance of each nation and ethnic group increase in the course of the overall process of building socialism and communism, so does the size of the individual national party detachments. The number of native party members is increasing in the party organizations of union and autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts and autonomous okrugs. At the same time, however, the party organizations are becoming increasingly international in membership, which contributes to the increased reciprocal closeness among socialist nations and ethnic groups in our country and the further strengthening of the international unity of the CPSU.

Throughout the existence and activities of the Leninist Party, the principle of individual enrollment and careful selection of candidates has been and remains the most important feature in the struggle for the purity of party ranks. The procedure for the consideration and resolution of problems related to gain or loss of party membership remains the leading concept in the system of adopting an individual approach to the question of party membership.

In this connection, recommendations play a great role. As early as its 6th Congress, in 1917 the RSDWP(b) included in its bylaws the rule that new members are accepted by the local party organizations on the basis of the recommendations of two party members and must be approved at the next general meeting of the members of the organization (see p 77). The bylaws which were adopted at the 8th All-Russian RKP(b) Conference stipulated that candidate members will be accepted on the recommendation of two party members with no less than 6 months membership and that the recommendations must be verified by the party committee (see p 80).

In his "Suggestions on the Checking and Purging of RKP(b) Membership" (1921), Lenin demanded of the sponsors an accurate written testimony. He considered that the sponsors must be (mandatorily) workers with 5-7-year party membership. Lenin also drew attention to the inadmissibility of giving recommendations out of "courtesy." He suggested that the Central Committee put out a circular which would state that "Only a person who has personally watched the recommended person at work for no less than 1 year, having worked with him in an organization, would have the right to issue a recommendation" (op. cit., vol 44, p 121).

Lenin's requirements became the foundation of party activities in the organization of party reinforcements. At different times the number of sponsors and their party seniority have changed according to the circumstances within the party and its tasks. The bylaws adopted at the 18th VKP(b) Congress stipulated that applicants must present recommendations from three party members with a membership of no less than 3 years, who have worked together with the applicant no less than 1 year (p 226). The 23rd CPSU Congress extended the sponsors' party seniority to 5 years.

As requirements relative to party membership became stricter, so did the responsibility of the sponsors. Thus, the resolution "On Problems of Party

Construction," passed by the 10th RKP(b) congress, in 1921, emphasized that should the new party members violate party discipline, etc., the party members who had recommended them would be subject to party reprimand and even expelled from the party, should they make further incautious and thoughtless recommendations (see p 93). The 11th congress asserted the strictest possible responsibility of the sponsors for the sponsored. The stipulation of responsibility to the party for giving recommendations was codified in the bylaws adopted at the 12th All-Russian Conference of the RKP(b). The current CPSU bylaws formulate this requirement as follows: "The sponsors are responsible to the party organizations for the objectivity their references concerning the political practical and moral qualities of those they recommend" (p 303).

Unfortunately, it happens in practice that some party members, including senior personnel, are unable to resist the "charm" of those anxious to please, flatterers and toadies, and willy-nilly contribute to the penetration within party ranks of unscrupulous individuals, careerists, and people pursuing narrow egotistical objectives. Due to the fact that barriers erected to block party access to politically immature, not to mention unworthy people are insufficiently reliable, occasionally individuals lacking the qualities of political fighters, or who even shame the title of communist with their actions, find their way into the party.

The candidate party member status is assigned an exceptionally important role in testing the suitability of new members. In Lenin's words, the candidate member status must be "a most serious trial rather than mere formality" (op. cit., vol 45, p 18). This probation term was introduced after the October Revolution when, as Lenin said, the worst elements were trying to "attach themselves, to sneak in..." (op. cit., vol 40, p 281). The bylaws adopted at the 8th All-Russian RKP(b) Conference noted in the new section "On Candidate Party Members" that any individual wishing to become a party member must undergo a candidate-member probationary period, the purpose of which is for him to become thoroughly acquainted with the party program and tactics and for having his personal qualities tested (see p 80). The bylaws adopted in subsequent years set the length of the probationary period according to the categories of people joining the party. Preference was always given to members of the working class. For example, the resolution passed at the 11th RKP(b) Congress stipulated that the probationary period for workers and Red Army men of worker and peasant origin should be no less than 6 months; it was set at 1 year for peasants and artisans, and 2 years for all others (see p 102). This stipulation was reflected in the RKP(b) bylaws adopted at the 12th All-Russian Party Conference. By introducing categories for new party members, the party organizations were given the right to give priority to the enrollment of industrial workers, for whom the probationary period was shorter than for others. The same procedure was retained until the 18th VKP(b) Congress, at which a 1-year probationary period was set for all applicants. It was only during the Great Patriotic War that the primary party organizations were allowed to accept applicants after only 3 months' probation.

Today as well, great significance attaches to the probationary period as an important standard of party structure. As was pointed out at the 26th CPSU

Congress, as a result of these steps better use has been made of the probationary period and the testing of the candidates has become more thorough.

However, the probationary period is not only a way of determining the suitability of the newcomer to become a party member. It is also an opportunity for educating him and preparing him for full and active participation in the life and activities of the party organization.

The work under review contains extensive data on the means and methods used by the CPSU to control its composition by expelling people who violate party discipline, statutes and bylaws. Lenin always paid attention to this aspect of party work. "The party," he wrote as early as 1905, "is a voluntary association which would inevitably collapse, ideologically and then materially, unless it would purge itself from members who preach antiparty views. The party program and its tactical resolutions and bylaws set the line separating party from nonparty behavior..." (op. cit., vol 12, p 103).

In a number of articles and speeches, including those presented in this work, Lenin emphasized that the party must get rid of people who join it "for reasons of revenge." Such people, Ilich said, "must be expelled from the party" (op. cit., vol 37, p 47). In his article "On Purging the Party." he wrote that "We must purge the party from rogues, bureaucratized elements, the dishonest and the unconvinced communists..." (op. cit., vol 44, p 124).

Implementing Lenin's instructions, the RKP(b) Central Committee conducted its first purge in 1921, its second in 1929-1930, and its third in 1933-1934, after which checks and exchanges of party documents were conducted. Furthermore, checks of members and candidate members in non-production cells, and partial checks in rural cells were conducted. An all-union census (reregistration) of party members and candidate members took place in 1927.

The VKP(b) bylaws adopted at the 17th congress stipulated that the purpose of the purges was "the systematic cleansing of the party from:

"class-alien and hostile elements;

"overt and covert violators of the iron discipline of the party and the state;

"degenerates, who had joined bourgeois elements;

"careerists and self-advancing and bureaucratized elements;

"the morally corrupt, who lowered the party's dignity through their unseemly behavior and who sullied the party's banner;

"passive individuals, who violated the obligations of party membership and had not mastered the party's program, bylaws and most important resolutions" (p 181).

Lenin ascribed a major role to nonparty members in purging the party ranks from alien elements. "To purge the party heeding the indications of nonparty

working people is a major undertaking which will yield major results" (op. cit., vol 44, p 123).

The 18th Party Congress abolished mass purges, for it was a method which had lost grounds under the new circumstances and prevented the full implementation of the party's stipulations on the correct individual approach to party members and attentive attitude toward them (see p 213).

The exchange of party documents, which was held in accordance with the resolutions of the 24th congress, contributed to the further unification of the CPSU and the enhancement of activeness and discipline of party members. This upgraded the reciprocal exigency of party members and improved the situation in the party organizations.

Therefore, as confirmed by the materials in the collection, the entire arsenal of means used by the CPSU is aimed at preventing the membership of people unworthy of the title of communist and, in the final account, helping to improve the qualitative composition of the party and the strengthening of its ranks. The exigency toward the CPSU as the battle vanguard of the people, through the loyal serving of whom the party has earned the right "to be the teacher, guide and leader of all working people..." (V. I. Lenin, op. cit., vol 33, p 26) increased with the development of Soviet society and the growth of its standards and the political activeness and consciousness of the masses.

The publication of this collection on the eve of the regular 27th Party Congress, which will discuss the new draft of the CPSU program and amendments and supplements in its bylaws, assumes great practical importance. In the course of the accountability and election campaign, the party organizations must sum up the results of their accomplishments and formulate their future tasks. This directs us toward providing a profound interpretation of the distance covered and, on this basis, formulate the strategy and tactics of leadership during the new historical stage in the country's development. Mastering the experience gained by the party will unquestionably provide an impetus for the creating thinking of CPSU members and candidate members and an incentive in their aspiration to justify through their actions, their entire behavior and way of life the high and responsible title of communist.

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